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JOURNAL OF THE STATISTICAL AND SOCIAL INQUIRY SOCIETY OF IRELAND.

PART XCIV.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

THE INDUSTRIAL AWAKENING OF IRELAND.

By CHARLES A. STANUELL, Esq., M.A.

[Read Friday, November 14th, 1913].

It is now ten years since Mr. Bailey in his Presidential address of 1903 took as his subject "Ireland since the Famine." I am inclined to think that we now stand in 1913 upon the threshold of another mighty change, the industrial development of Ireland, and I propose to-night to see whether the last ten years bear out this view.

Prior to the Famine the population of Ireland in 1846 was rather over 8,000,000, it has now fallen to about 4,500,000.

A great deal has been said and written, very naturally, of this drop in the population, but latterly certain writers and speakers have asserted that the decrease began with the Union of 1st January, 1801, and in fact it has been contended that all the decrease has been due to the Union, and all kinds of arguments for future statesmanship have been based upon this assumption, which is absolutely incorrect.

So far from decreasing after the Union, the population, which was a little over 5,000,000 in 1801, rose immediately afterwards, and it continued to increase rapidly for the next 46 years. The increase was constant, but for brevity I will only give the decennial periods :—

1801	..	..	5,216,329
1811	..	..	5,955,466
1821	..	..	6,801,827
1831	..	..	7,767,401
1841	..	..	8,199,853

Finally in 1846, nearly fifty years after the Union, the population reached 8,287,848, three millions more than it had been at the time of the Union, an increase of 60 per cent.

Then came in 1846 the awful catastrophe of the Famine, with which Mr. Bailey's paper opened. The country was crowded, there were no railways except the Dublin and Kingstown and the Dublin and Drogheda, both very short and on the east coast, for the Act for the Great Southern and Western was only obtained in 1845, steamers were few, harbours defective, the difficulties of transport prohibitive, the population, very largely agricultural, depended much on potatoes for food, the crop failed, and in grim language Ireland became a vast Congested District. The downward sweep of the pendulum set in, the starving people died or fled, some to England, others to the United States, Canada, Australia, just as many Highland Scots fled at the same time. The population fell in each succeeding census, but it is incorrect to attribute the falling-off to the Union forty-five years before, regardless of the intervening increase. The cause was not the Union of 1801, but the Famine of 1846-7. From the Union to the Famine the population steadily and rapidly increased.

It is not my intention to-night to enter upon the subject of the Famine. I have merely mentioned it to clear away the erroneous idea that the decrease was due to political causes, and to avoid building a system of reforms on a wrong foundation. The real blow was the Famine, due to the sudden blight which destroyed the potato crop.

It is only fair to point out that wide-spread as was the suffering at the time of the Famine, there were even then certain alleviating circumstances at work. For one thing, the railway systems both in Great Britain and Ireland developed marvellously about this time (the celebrated Railway Mania occurred in 1847) and not only were communications improved, but the enormous "labour in the earthwork," as railway cuttings and embankments were called, provided an immense army of "spade-users" with daily work as navvies while there was in connection with railways a considerable increase in shipping, notably our cross-channel services.

By no means the smallest change in Dublin since the Famine has been the conversion of Dublin harbour into a commodious port crowded with traffic, and demanding further extension, but I have dealt with this subject on a previous occasion. My father, who was in this country during the Famine, has told me that in those days, 1846-7, he remembered the North Wall was absolutely bare and empty from Carlisle Bridge to Halpin's Pond, at the East end of the North Wall, where the G.S. & W. Goods station now stands, at which point there was a solitary gunboat.

I do not suppose that this meant that there never were any

vessels or steamers there at all, but that these were only occasional. There was even then a weekly British and Irish steamer to London, and at least another once a week to Bristol. Now there are twelve lines of steamers on the North Quays alone, many of them with several steamers, some starting twice a day and even oftener, and communicating with Liverpool, Holyhead, Glasgow, London and various other ports. So much has the traffic increased that three other lines of steamers have been compelled to use the South Quays, though destitute of the immense advantage of railway connection, because the deserted quays of 1847 have become insufficient to accommodate the traffic, although the steamers are three times the size they were. As a matter of fact at the last General Meeting of the Dublin and South Eastern Railway Company, I pleaded for an extension of the Dublin and Kingstown Railway to the South Quays, not only for the benefit of the Railway Company, although it is perhaps the best step that that Company could take to improve its traffic and prosperity, but because it was absolutely necessary, in my humble judgment, to secure additional railway connection with the sea, having regard to the delay of business caused by the over-crowding of the North Wall, and its bad connection by road with the city, which, is for the most part on the south side of the river.

Mr. Bailey has dealt so fully with this period of fifty years and more, that it is unnecessary to trace the events between 1848 and 1903, the present point is to show that the great development of the port of Dublin, which really made it commercially successful, belongs to this era, including as it does the general junction of the various main lines of railway of Ireland at the North Wall, which practically dates from about 1873, but which was spread over a number of years. The South Quay deepening was only completed within the present year.

These changes would appear to be due not so much to legislation as to social improvement and education, largely to railways and means of communication, and hence this comparatively lengthy notice of the development of Dublin harbour.

Resuming now the course of events in Ireland from 1903, the date of Mr. Bailey's most interesting and instructive address, it would appear that during the ten years which have since passed the effect of the great changes in the social system mentioned by him have to some extent become manifest and that we can now trace their tendency and note the direction in which they are moving.

There is special difficulty in weighing the evidence. In the physical world scales can be so delicately adjusted as to be turned by writing in pencil on a piece of paper already

weighed. Compared with that machinery the task of weighing the evidence at my command is far more serious. I can only bring very ordinary faculties to bear upon the problem and I feel the want of certainty due to imperfect observation when I give my opinion that Ireland has "rounded the corner."

I can only say that my conclusion is the result of much consideration, and that I wish I had a better balance at my command for estimating the various forces which have their share in influencing the result. It is really a very complicated problem to trace the drift of a nation's progress, and ascertain whether it is advancing or not. For instance the Cattle Outbreak last year seemed to be a terrible misfortune. Now it rather seems that it was a blessing in disguise; it showed us a very weak point in our main industry, which indeed thinking men had long foreseen, but which our agriculturists obstinately refused to consider, and probably it will end by forcing us to modify our present methods and to supplement our live export with a dressed meat trade, which will have the result of giving far more employment to our industrial population, as distinct from our agricultural, while actually increasing the latter also.

In an agricultural country, such as Ireland has been, and still more in an island isolated to a great extent from outside influence, efforts at improvement have naturally taken the form of an improved and systematic export of agricultural produce, such as the cattle trade, which had already achieved success in the form of a live export during the period included in Mr. Bailey's address.

This is not meant to deny the immense increase of Belfast and very considerable growth of Dublin city before 1903, but since that date it would seem that our general exports are taking a new form. We are still exporting live cattle, but we are adding other exports, such as butter for instance, which involves a certain amount of "manufacture," representing remunerative labour, and thus supplying work for more hands, in fact for an increased population.

This exportation of agricultural produce began with a rough and ready system of co-operation, and this is the way in which such movements have begun in other countries and at other periods. The prevailing system of trading and commerce in the Middle Ages, roughly speaking, was the system of Guilds, using the word in a wide sense for a loose body of merchants or traders having a common business, and to some extent helping each other and sharing expenses, while receiving, or trying to receive individual profits, and having no part in the government of the country. We find this in Venice in the Middle Ages, and still more in the mighty Hanseatic League, comparatively less known, which under the leadership of Lubeck the great "Queen of the Hanse,"

became a Confederacy strong enough to hurl a monarch from the throne of Denmark. There can be no doubt also that the nations of the North, England, Scotland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and the coasts of the Baltic now belonging to Prussia and Russia, gradually sought to manufacture the raw material in spite of the efforts of the Hanse to hold the monopoly. The course adopted by Queen Elizabeth, who finally closed the celebrated but mis-called "Steel Yard" of the Esterlings in London, is well known to most readers of history. The League, as everyone knows, faded rapidly in the 16th century, and even the three surviving "free cities" Bremen, Hamburgh, and Lubeck no longer possess separate postage stamps, but form part of the German Empire.

In this exportation of agricultural produce from Ireland we have, of recent years, seen an immense development, the produce of Creameries, Eggs, Fowls, Fruit, Vegetables, transmitted in a system of regular quantities, the first attempt at exporting anything beyond raw material, and it would seem that now, in 1913, after ten years of preparation, we are standing on the brink of exporting finished articles involving remunerative labour in their preparation, and also of utilising what may be called the "by-products" to give work to another class of people, and so provide for a surplus population and once more increase our numbers.

The Irish population fell off first from the Famine but also because there was not remunerative work at home for the full number. They left the country in search of the means of living, in other words of work. If now we want to stop the falling-off, the inhabitants must be provided with work, and of late it would appear that this has actually taken place and that there are already faint signs of the change, and hence the title of my address. Confirmation of this theory may, perhaps, be drawn from the fact that the rate of decrease in the population has gradually shrunk from year to year, and has been of late confined to those districts where there has been an absence of industrial labour or occupation as opposed to agricultural.

Between 1901 and 1911 :—

	per cent.
Connaught has fallen off by 36,966, amounting to	5·7
Munster has fallen off by 43,103, amounting to	4·0
Ulster has fallen off by 4,254, amounting to	0·3
Leinster shows an <i>increase</i> of 7,499, amounting to	0·7

The difference between the first two and the last two is remarkable ; in the first two, agriculture predominates to a great extent, in the last two there is in each a great industrial centre.

More evidence is forthcoming in the fact that there has been an increase in the urban populations where labour is

utilised, as against the agricultural where it is falling off. It is not well to clog an address with statistics, but here are a few instances.

In 1881 the populations of Londonderry and Waterford cities were equal, Londonderry had 29,162, and Waterford 29,181, the latter leading by less than a score. In 1901 Londonderry had risen to 39,892, Waterford had fallen to 26,768. In 1911 Londonderry had risen to 40,799, and Waterford had to some extent recovered to 27,464, bearing out the theory in both respects, as it will be seen that the falling off in Waterford City has ceased.

As regards Munster, the theory holds good, Cork City in 1901 had 75,115 inhabitants, increased in 1911 to 76,679. Limerick City increased from 38,161 in 1901 to 38,518 in 1911. The increases are small, almost microscopic, but as already remarked the first signs are very slight, it is the almost imperceptible turn of the tide.

As regards Leinster, the same phenomenon appears to be visible, Omitting Dublin, where the increase is very large indeed, and taking the next three towns, Dundalk, Drogheda and Wexford, they show the following results :—

Dundalk, 1901	..	13,067.	1911	..	13,128
Drogheda, 1901	..	12,760.	1911	..	12,501
					(a decrease)
Wexford, 1901	..	11,168.	1911	..	11,531

It must be remembered that we are only dealing with tendencies, these small increases follow previous and long-continued decreases, but they carry out the deduction that we have reached the point where we are beginning to find work for our surplus population, and hence to keep more of them at home, and that the days of decrease are rapidly drawing to a close. A ship is in fair hope of being saved when the pumps begin to gain on the leak, and when a barometer ceases to fall it is a sign that we have seen the worst of a storm.

Finally, and it is a little remarkable that I had drafted this paper before I heard of it, I find by the report of the Registrar-General for Ireland for 1912, published this year, that he states that there has been an increase in the population of Ireland in the year ending 30th June, of 1912, as compared with the middle of the preceding year ; in other words there were 1,102 more births than deaths and emigrants put together during the year ending 30th June, 1912, the first increase for the last sixty years and upwards.

Another point of great importance as an index of improvement is the accumulation of means, or as it is termed "wealth." The large enterprises of modern life, roads, railways, factories, require considerable funds for their construction and erection.

It is well known and has been commented upon by various writers and speakers, that the wealth of Ireland, represented by surplus cash, bank accounts, savings-bank deposits and so on, has been increasing marvellously of recent years, and in fact we now have ample funds available for investment, if it were not that our institutions have not yet secured the trust and confidence due to long stability.

It is another hindrance to our prosperity that in addition to our original absence of capital our political movements, only too often have been movements of subversion, ruinous to commercial peace and prosperity.

At the same time these appear to be undergoing a change all over the country, and there is now a much larger class devoted to and interested in preserving private peace and plenty, and by way of instancing what is coming it will be sufficient to take the cattle trade of Ireland as a general example. It has grown up gradually, so gradually that people hardly recognise its enormous extent, and the number of people interested in it. It needed the recent outbreak of Foot and Mouth Disease, and the subsequent embargo placed on our live export to show how vital it has become to the prosperity of the country.

According to Thom's Almanack we exported for all Ireland in 1911, 694,828 head of cattle, and from Dublin alone 306,206. I take that year as the Foot and Mouth outbreak interfered with 1912.

For the sake of brevity no reference is made to horses, sheep and swine, but only to cattle.

Most of us are aware that these consist of two great classes, one of fat cattle for immediate slaughter, and the other of young thin cattle, technically termed "Stores," sent to Scotland and England to be fattened for market.

Of late years the Irish farmers have been depending more and more on the sale of "stores" to be fattened across the Channel, and it is a question if the supply of fat cattle is much more than sufficient for our own local demands for butchers' meat. The matter has caused considerable anxiety among the victuallers of Dublin. In fact during May last, if not later, as a consequence of a great demand for cattle in England, caused by prohibition of our export last year, the Dublin butchers could not obtain supplies for the Dublin market, except at enhanced prices, and they wished to stop the threatened export of dressed meat, to prevent their being outbid in the market, and applied to the Dublin Chamber of Commerce to withdraw a resolution passed by that body in favour of introducing a dressed meat export.

It is obvious that such a course as stopping this trade would be a retrograde step, depriving the farmers of Ireland of their legitimate free market, and the Chamber of Commerce

very properly declined to comply. The proper course would be to increase the supply of fat cattle by providing more tillage and root crops.

This is an important matter, but one feature of the subject is that it presents many side-issues: for present purposes it will be sufficient to deal with the majority of the cattle, the so-called, "stores."

The peculiarity of these is that they are exported alive across the Channel, where they are bought by English and Scottish farmers to be fattened by them and resold at a profit, a handsome profit, to the butchers of Great Britain.

Another point to be borne in mind is that a beast does not consist entirely of eatable meat; nearly one-half, say six parts out of fourteen by weight, is made up of hide, hoofs, horns and uneatable interior, all technically termed by butchers "offal," *i.e.*, waste meat or refuse, but though "refuse" in the eyes of the butcher these remaining six-fourteenths of each beast are valuable for other purposes, they support very large trades:—Manure, Tanning, Felting, Soap, Candles, Glue. Unfortunately by our system of live export we lose two things, first the profit of fattening the "stores," second the profit of the offal and the various products obtained from it, both of which would support a much larger population than we possess, for it cannot be doubted that our population is far below what it might be if we had work to give them.

The farmer puts forward two arguments in favour of the existing system, both of which are fallacious. He says, "the purchaser pays me for the offal, that goes into the price he pays for the live beast, and, second, I don't have to go to the expense of growing roots, wages to labourers run away with the profits of fattening."

As to the first, naturally the farmer does get something in the price on foot of the hides, horns, hoofs, &c., but it is something like what the English of the Fourteenth Century got when they sold their raw wool to the Flemish weavers and bought back cloth at more than ten times the price of the wool, a mere fraction of the value if they developed the raw material themselves, as the English eventually learned to do with their wool. If we kept the raw material we should be supporting our surplus labour besides getting a much greater profit. Exporting "raw material" is all very well, but it is very far inferior to exporting "labour," for the worker's time and skill are then paid for in coin, and represent a much greater portion of the product than the mere value of the raw material, even without the further point that each worker is himself a consumer in regard to other trades than his own.

It may be better to give an illustration in a concrete form and not in bare statistics. In 1911 we exported from Dublin more than 300,000 head of cattle. Allowing 300 working days in the year this meant 1,000 hides a day, each weighing, say 60 pounds, a low allowance. The number of tanners required to deal with such a quantity, 535 hundred-weight daily, call it five hundred for round numbers, and taking all the processes into consideration, would be very considerable, and these tanners in their turn would be customers for food and clothes, and the same with the other offal.

As to the value the declared value of exported leather is returned as over £12 a hundred-weight. It does not take much arithmetic to show what an enormous sum is represented by 500 hundred-weight (25 tons) turned out each working day in a year. It is far nearer £2,000,000 than £1,000,000. Does the Irish farmer get anything like this sum when he sells the hides on the living beast? The question is ridiculous.

Now as to the second:—It is true that the farmer saves the wages of labourers for root crops, but it is a question for my audience to consider whether the canny Scots, who buy so many thousands of our store cattle to fatten, do so for benevolent and philanthropic motives! Can anyone say that this charitable motive has created the business that runs at least one daily express goods-train from Aberdeen through Carlisle to London, 540 miles, quicker than the mail train itself?

This may seem incredible, but the dressed meat train starts from Aberdeen at 1.50 p.m., fifty minutes after the mail train, and arrives in London before it, passing the mail train at some station on the way, generally north of Carlisle.

There may be some credulous persons who may think differently, but the reasonable conclusion is that charity and benevolence have nothing to say to the case, and that the simple fact is that the fattening process pays well when properly managed, and further, it supports a large number of agricultural hands engaged in growing turnips, beet, mangold, &c., to supply the cattle with fattening food. The Irish farmer has lost sight of the fact that these two sources have been thrown away by him. He has been content to take his small profit, and has allowed the fattening and the by-products to slip through his hands. Some indeed have ceased to do any agricultural work strictly so called. I have known a so-called "farmer" who, by his own confession, had not even a spade, rake, fork, or any implement on his premises, and whose sole occupation was watching cattle endeavouring to find grass in his neglected crop of thistles and blackhead, and this experience of mine was by no means a single instance.

In other words, the Irish farmers, or rather some of them, are imitating the English of some 500 years ago, when they sold their undressed wool to the Flemish weavers.

It may seem erroneous to devote so much attention to our live cattle export, but over and above its value as illustrating the difference between exporting raw material and the finished product, the cattle trade is our leading industry as regards a great part of the country, and there are signs of very important changes looming in the future, all tending in the direction of our ceasing to export "stores," and replacing them partly by finished cattle fit for market, but far more by a dressed meat trade, which will enable us to utilise our own factories for the uneatable portions which for years we have been exporting at nominal prices. It is worthy of remark that on the 10th September this year, the Lord Mayor of Belfast opened in that city a new municipal abattoir, erected and equipped at a cost of £52,000 on a site of four acres adjoining the markets, cattle sale-yards and railways, and containing lairages, slaughter halls, dressing halls and cooling rooms, manifestly in preparation for a new system in that stirring city.

The immediate cause of this activity has been the recent outburst of cattle disease and the consequent embargo on our live export to Great Britain. If the movement continue it will be truly said that the recent outbreak has been indeed a blessing in disguise, but it all depends if we have the energy and ability to utilise the chance offered to us. We have the capital if we had confidence in our commercial ability.

It is only right to say that the importation of chilled meat from abroad is in the hands of powerful competitors, and it will involve a keen struggle for Ireland to hold her own, but her opponents are handicapped by distance and she has the ability and strength, if she will use them promptly, energetically and with unity of action.

The cattle trade is not the only business capable of development and naturally much of what has been said applies to other great exports, sheep and swine. Further, since 1903, various industries have been established too numerous and perhaps too small to receive special mention, but still all showing that during the last ten years there has been a steady improvement and development, and that there is no sign of reverting to the old state of things.

Curiously enough there is a matter which gives some apprehension. It would appear that the men capable of directing large works and developing businesses are as yet comparatively rare in this country. So far from the market being over-stocked with the talent for such undertakings, the exact contrary seems to be the case. It is not exactly want of brain, the wit is keen, the apprehension quick, the

intellect good, it is perhaps more a moral than an intellectual deficiency. There seems to be a want of originality, regularity, punctuality, method and system. There is also a habit of shirking trouble, and, above all, an absence of readiness to face responsibility. There are, of course, numerous exceptions, the expression is a general one, but when one meets a genuine "captain of industry" one notices it because of the comparative rarity with which they occur. They are not by any means unknown, any one can recall the names of several, but still they are not numerous taking all Ireland.

Perhaps it would be fairer to say that the defects are rather a question of want of habit and of education due to absence of training than of want of intellectual ability.

A singular defect among directors in Ireland is that they seem only too often to be afflicted with a species of craving for parsimony under the disguise of "economy." Really one hears the word "saving" from the average chairman more frequently than "efficiency." Both individual directors and whole Boards seem unconsciously to take more trouble in keeping down expenses and salaries than in extending business. For instance I have known an Irish Railway Board boast of reducing traffic expenses by one per cent., while they could not be induced to "risk" as they termed it, the same amount in excursion and tourist development, which promised a reasonable prospect of a high return on the immediate expenditure, to say nothing of immense developments in the future. I even remember a General Manager, now dead, who hated excursionists and excursion traffic, because they interfered with his routine.

There is, perhaps, ground for the criticism that we are apt in Ireland to think that there is more virtue in saving money than in making money, and yet when one comes to think of it, there cannot be any doubt that the second is infinitely the more important. A saving is always a small thing compared with the development of new business, and there is always the risk of tampering with the efficiency of the "concern." Unfortunately, a timid board is very apt to put the saving first and perhaps prone to forget the increasing of the business altogether.

This may seem to be wandering from the subject, but it really affects the case very seriously. The old proverb still holds good that an army of stags led by a lion is better than an army of lions led by a stag. A timid board or a timid chief shirks any responsibility at all, and throws away opportunities which only require an effort, while all the subordinates, knowing the risk they run, shirk responsibility in the same way.

Further, there appears to be an absence of foresight among the workers. They are perhaps in some ways unaccustomed

to an industrial life, and there seems to be an absence, or rather a deficiency of what is called among the Scots "level-headedness," which will probably wear off as the people recognise that their prosperity and happiness depend very largely upon their own exertions and their conduct towards each other. At present they do not recognise that thrift, self-restraint, patience and perseverance are necessary for success, and that capital and labour must help each other.

For instance, and it may seem a very quaint instance to give, our strikes are of the most unreasoning and spasmodic description, entered into upon impulse, without the slightest preparation, without any funds laid by, or a thought of the consequences, and as often as not at the suggestion of some stranger who is practically unknown to the strikers, while any grievance that may have existed could have been settled without difficulty. Further, every such episode damages our struggling trade and commerce, perhaps for long periods, because it drives our customers elsewhere, and they do not return; situated as we are, striving to get access to the markets of the world, the effect is really pitiable.

The foregoing paragraph was written before the recent strike in Dublin, and was based upon the disastrous strike which devastated Wexford two years ago.

If it were possible, it would perhaps be better to look upon these episodes in the commercial history of a country with deliberate judgment, and instead of hastily condemning them to regard them as a species of problem or unsolved mystery, often presenting in the future features which are the exact opposite of what they appear to be at the first glance. It may be that it was necessary for our people to learn the lesson, possibly new to our workers, that capital and labour are intimately connected, and that neither of them can work profitably apart.

After all, it is perhaps hardly to be expected that the Irish in their first efforts to become an industrial community should escape the disorders which arose a generation ago in Great Britain. The spasmodic strike was not unknown there, the name of Broadhead is not forgotten yet, and there must be many still alive who remember the terrible time in Sheffield which culminated in a special commission in 1867.

In fact, in spite of the suffering and temporary set-back caused by the recent strike in Dublin, it is quite possible that like the Foot and Mouth outbreak it may prove to be a blessing in disguise, which may save us from worse things in the future, and I certainly have no wish to stir up strife by making reflections on anyone or anything.

Meanwhile, in many ways we are possibly on the verge of better things. Not so long ago we imported much of our rolling stock for our railways, not to mention locomotives,

now we build our own, and we have seen what we never hoped to see in Dublin, the beginning of a ship-yard. A small ship-building yard started some years ago in Dublin by an enterprising man has recently been formed into a Company with sufficient capital for the costly machinery required for large work. In fact many more things are manufactured in Dublin than is generally supposed. I have been in a box factory where they were finishing an order for 20,000 soldiers' chests for Woolwich, and it was by no means the only English order held by the firm. I do not say that our Dublin works are gigantic, but I believe that we have entered upon a new era. Further, in other parts of the country, there are signs that Ireland is now awaking to the opportunities afforded by the improvement of trade facilities and communications, and the inhabitants are beginning to enter upon industries and improvements of which they never dreamed. It is by no means unusual to find some local industry established in some small county town which might almost have served for Goldsmith's "Deserted Village." As a curious instance the paper on which I typed this address was made in the little-known village of Saggard in the County of Dublin.

It may be granted that these county industries are small, mere seedlings at present, but still they are there, and with cultivation they may grow. In fact we have an immense supply of labour, but the workers need training and experience, and we badly want what in the army would be called "non-commissioned officers" by which is meant capable, painstaking, energetic foremen, as well as owners in the case of private firms and directors of public companies.

While the future is thus hopeful, there is still much to be done. In addition to the creation of officers and non-commissioned officers for the industrial army, and drill or technical education for the workmen we have to guard against hindrances connected among other things with education, religion and politics.

The first has improved immensely, not in mere book-learning but in social habits, in method, order, perseverance, system, even cleanliness; these rest to some extent with the teachers. There is still room for improvement, there always is, but the change is remarkable.

Religion does not present much difficulty, there is a good deal of toleration all round, now-a-days, we are improving every year, and I am very glad to acknowledge it. As to politics, it is a more open question, but the subject is barred from discussion in this Society.

I fear I am becoming personal, though I have endeavoured to avoid it, but I have nearly finished. If I could have my wish I should like to see all religions combining to support

truth, justice and charity ; I should like to see politicians of all colours uniting for the advancement of comfort, happiness and prosperity. In the words Moore addressed to Ireland nearly a hundred years ago :—

“ Till, like the rainbow’s light,
Thy various tints unite,
And form in Heaven’s sight
One arch of peace.”

I have now reached the close of my inaugural address, and I think it well to explain why I selected such an ambitious subject.

My reason is that this Society owes its origin to the troubles of the Famine. It was founded in 1847 when the Famine was sore in the land, by a number of distinguished men with the express object, as defined by the resolution, “ of a thorough scientific study of the then existing conditions, in the hope that some remedy might be found to alleviate the evils which were having such a disastrous effect upon the country.”

The greatest evil in the country was the continued fall in the population, as indicating an absence of material prosperity based upon the comfort, happiness and prosperity of the individual members.

Hence on finding that the period of my presidency coincided with the first increase in the population since the foundation of the Society, I felt bound by the high office I held to refer to the subject of the industrial awakening of Ireland as a fulfilment of the wishes of the original founders of the Society, however inadequate my knowledge and ability might be to the subject.

Perhaps, as the words of the President of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland, my address may attract some notice, and have some effect on the volume of opinion in favour of developing the industrial resources of the country by honest and united action, and by cordial co-operation between labour and capital. Perhaps they may lead others of far greater power, influence and ability, to proclaim that the olden days have passed away, that the dawn of industrial development in Ireland has taken place, and finally I trust that it may prove to be no false dawn, whose radiance is again withdrawn, but that the rise of our happiness and prosperity may soon be recognised as an epoch in the history of our country.

COMMERCIAL EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

BY WILLIAM F. WEBB, ESQ., LL.B. (LONDON).

[Read, December 12th, 1913.]

Previously to the establishment of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction in Ireland (to which I shall generally allude as "The Department") the power to devote public funds to the purpose of Technical Education was based upon the provisions of the Technical Instruction Act, 1889 (52 and 53 Vic., cap. 76). Under this Act permission was given to Local Authorities to "supply or aid the supply of technical or manual instruction" out of the rates, and the municipalities were further empowered to borrow monies for such purpose. Section 7 of the Act contains provisions regulating its application to Ireland. We find in the definition clauses the following comprehensive words:—

"The expression Technical Instruction shall mean instruction in the principles of science and art applicable to industries, and in the application of special branches of science and art to special industries or employments. It shall not include teaching the practice of any trade, or industry, or employment, but, save as aforesaid, shall include instruction in the branches of science and art with respect to which grants are for the time being made by the Department of Science and Art, and any other form of instruction (including modern languages and commercial and agricultural subjects) which may for the time being be sanctioned by that Department, by a minute laid before Parliament, and made on the representation of a local authority that such a form of instruction is required by the circumstances of its district."

This definition is important as it is adopted in the Act of 1899 by which the Department was established, with the addition of the following words:—"And shall also include instruction in the use of tools and modelling in

clay, wood, or other material." The Act of 1899 was slightly modified by the Statute 54 Vic., cap 4, which enabled local authorities to assist institutions outside the confines of their own areas.

These Acts were extensively availed of in England, but, whether from apathy on the part of the public, or a disinclination to further burden the rates, or, from what I think often exists, a sheer ignorance of the enabling legislation, scarcely anything was done in Ireland. The only local authorities which made grants so late as the year 1896-7 being Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Limerick, Londonderry, Galway, Galway Union, and Tuam Union; and the total amount so provided from the rates was only £4,657, while the grants from the Science and Art Department did not amount to more than £2,407.

By the Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899, the present Department was established, with "the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant as President thereof, and a Vice-President, to be appointed by and removable at the pleasure of one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State." Certain bodies were created to act in conjunction with the Department, namely, the Council of Agriculture, the Board of Agriculture, and the Board of Technical Instruction; with the last named of which only we are concerned here. The Board of Technical Instruction consists of nineteen persons, four of whom are nominated by the Department, and the others elected by various municipal bodies, or groups of same, throughout the country; and is a purely consultative body. It "shall advise the Department with respect to all matters and questions submitted to it by the Department in connection with technical instruction."

The funds placed at the disposal of the Department were derived from various existing grants, and in addition a payment from the Irish Church surplus; and amounted in the whole to £166,000 per annum. Of this the annual sum of £55,000 was allocated for the purposes of technical instruction, as distinguished from agricultural matters, and was divisible as to one part thereof among the County Boroughs in proportion to their respective populations, and as to the other part thereof "for the purposes of technical instruction elsewhere than in the County Boroughs, and in making or aiding in making such enquiries and collecting or aiding in collecting, such information as the Department may think important for the purposes of technical instruction." The County Boroughs are Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Waterford, Limerick, and Londonderry. The apportionment of this sum of

£55,000 is subject to triennial revision, and its present allocation is to the County Boroughs, £26,000; to the other Urban centres and to enquiries, £29,000.

As regards the urban areas the rating provisions are as follows:—To “Raise by means of or out of any rate or fund applicable for the purposes of the Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1878, . . . a sum not exceeding in any one local financial year a sum equal to a rate of 1*d.* in the £ on the rateable value of the Urban District . . . and to apply the same for the purpose of technical instruction or for any other purpose for which they are authorised by or in pursuance of this Act to expend money.” The main conditions imposed on the urban authorities are that the expenditure must be “in accordance with the provisions of a scheme approved by the Department; or for defraying any administrative or incidental expenses incurred, with the approval of the Department.” There are also certain borrowing powers.

By Section 26 of the Act, the Department is directed, once in every year, to report to the Lord Lieutenant as to its proceedings. The Act came into force on the 1st day of April, 1900. It will be seen that the successful working of the Act of 1899 depends upon the amicable co-operation of the municipal authorities and the official Department. The grant of monies from the endowment fund is conditioned upon the raising of monies by the rates; the schemes of instruction have to be prepared by the local bodies and approved of by the Department, which, especially as regards the smaller areas, that is outside the County Boroughs, remains in close touch with the school committees, a transcript of their minutes being regularly transmitted to the central authority, whose concurrence is necessary for any substantial expenditure, modification of the instruction syllabus, or change in the teaching staff.

So early as in the report for the year 1901-2 it is recorded:—

“The work of the Department through the local authorities, on whom is devolved as much as possible of the administration of local schemes has . . . increased very much, the schemes . . . of technical instruction having grown in number and complexity. Schemes . . . are now in operation in practically every . . . Urban District in Ireland. The Department has maintained the practice of keeping up direct personal relations with the local committees, helping them whenever possible by arranging for the attendance of a representative at meetings at which schemes are being considered.”

The same report comments on the interest shown locally in the working of the Act, and states that

“When all things are taken into account, and the very technical and difficult character of much of the work is borne in mind, the Department feels bound to record their sense of the administrative capacity and progressive spirit these local self-governing bodies have shown.”

On the other hand I am glad to be able to testify to a wise oversight on the part of the Department, wise both in action and forbearance, to a large measure of elasticity in its methods, and on the whole to a commendable absence of red-tape.

In its earlier reports the Department dwells on the great difficulty of obtaining suitable teachers for technical schools, but later records the surmounting to a great degree of this difficulty.

It will be remembered that it has been left to municipal authorities to frame their schemes in accordance with the special circumstances and requirements arising locally. For instance, a great manufacturing centre like Belfast, in the business activity of which one industry is particularly prominent, naturally devotes itself largely to technical instruction in connection with this industry, and its allied employments. Every large centre, in addition to provision for instruction in the ordinary trades involving manual work has also established a commercial side, in which instruction is given in general business methods and work, apart from handicraft.

Technical instruction in the sense of manual training has long been recognised as a valuable element in education. The training of the hand indeed is so obviously possible, that it has been sought for in the centuries-long practice of apprenticeship, a practice which in recent years has fallen far away from its original conception. The possibility, however, of training boys at a school, and young men at a college to fit them for commercial pursuits in the narrower sense of the term, is not by any means so fully admitted; and yet, without such recognition, and the encouragement it implies on the part of the leaders in commercial pursuits, the efforts of the teachers cannot find their full reward, nor can we look for so full and speedy an expansion and development of technical education in this direction as we should hope for and expect. I regret to say that, though there are some striking exceptions, the business men of Dublin have not shown that appreciation of the possibilities of commercial training which the community has a right to expect from them.

Technical education of this sort is not confined to the humbler and semi-mechanical operations conducted in the lower grades. These are not neglected, and the manager of a commercial office will easily realise the difference between a boy who has only attained, say, the fifth or sixth standard in a primary school, and one who has added to this some training in actual office operations. The first presents, indeed, the spectacle of "A creature moving about in worlds not realised"; the second can, to a certain extent, not only find his way himself, but can follow out any special course that may be indicated.

It is not, however, to the ranks of the office boys, the junior clerks, the shorthand-writers, and the typists that the technical schools look for their chief field of labour, and their justification. Recently Sir Bertram Windle in this country, and the managing director of the great company of Vickers, Maxim and Co., Ltd., in England, forcibly emphasised the absolute necessity of commercial education in the higher sense as the great need of the business world in the United Kingdom, both affirming the necessity of obtaining the theoretical or class teaching, as well as the practical instruction of the actual place of business or manufacture. Such facilities for this higher commercial education as exist are eagerly availed of by many who during their evening hours seek to make themselves more capable for the pursuits of the day. I know of the attendance at the commercial classes of the solicitor to an important bank, of the son of one of the best known public accountants in Ireland, and of an able member of the metropolitan corporation. The last annual report of the Department states that there were in Ireland for that year 7,980 students attending the commercial classes.

I propose to review the work of the Rathmines School of Commerce, as showing what is meant by, and what has been the progress of commercial education. I take this school for several reasons. It is the only municipal school which was established to offer instruction in commercial subjects alone, not having any manual side whatsoever, an illustration of the policy of the Act that a municipality desiring to form a school should adopt a scheme based upon the actual and particular needs of the persons residing within its limits. The Urban District of Rathmines and Rathgar is inhabited mainly by those of the middle class, chiefly engaged in commercial pursuits: some as employers, but the vast majority as employees; while within the district are few manufactories. A purely commercial scheme was, therefore, formed. Moreover, as will be seen by an extract from one of the annual reports of

the Department, it is intended that the school at Rathmines, while not ignoring the lower subjects, shall largely devote its energies to the higher branches of commercial instruction, thus forming a link for younger students with the more advanced courses supplied by the universities. A few years ago a Domestic Economy Department was added, but any figures I give relate only to the School of Commerce. Finally, I select Rathmines as I have been personally engaged in the work of its Committee of Management since the opening of the school, a work which I have found of extreme interest. And here I would wish to place on record the great advantage which our school has received from its good fortune in the Principals who have most ably conducted the work; the first of these was our fellow-member Professor Oldram, who resigned his post upon taking up his duties in the National University; the present Principal, Mr. Williamson, was formerly head of the commercial side of the great technical school in Belfast, and will find a much enlarged field for his enthusiasm and energies in the new Technical Institute opened on the 24th October last. The school was opened at the beginning of the year 1902, and the report of the Department for 1904-5 records "A successful commercial school has been established in Rathmines, which, it is hoped, will not only serve the metropolitan area, but will also develop into a school of high commercial instruction for the whole country."

At the commencement of the current session there were 488 students making 1,374 class entries, and the record of the school from its inception has shown steady progress. The high-water mark of last session reached 333 male and 176 female students. Classification by attainment showed 605 entries in the elementary division, 231 in the intermediate division, and 452 in the advanced division. It appears that 48.1 per cent. of the students were resident in the Urban District of Rathmines, 40.7 per cent. in the City of Dublin, and 11.2 per cent. in other adjoining districts. As to the ages of the students, 93 were under the age of sixteen, 181 between sixteen and twenty, 115 between twenty and twenty-five, and 120 over twenty-five years of age.

The school has the assistance of a consultative committee on railway education, which was appointed to advise the Rathmines committee; the members of the consultative body being nominated by the general managers of the railway companies having head offices in Dublin, representatives from the railway clearing house being added. There is also a consultative committee for insurance education, appointed for the purpose by the

Insurance Institute of Ireland, and, as regards bankers education, the school committee has the assistance of the executive committee of the Institute of Bankers in Ireland.

The instruction given is divided into :—

(1) The Introductory Course, comprising Commercial Arithmetic, English Composition, English Grammar and Reading, Commercial Geography, and Elementary Drawing.

(2) Specialised Courses, comprising the following groups :—

A.—GENERAL GROUPS.

(a) Commercial English, Typewriting, Commercial Arithmetic, Business Methods (two stages of each subject).

(b) Book-keeping, Shorthand, French, German (three stages).

(c) Single course lectures on special subjects, *e.g.*, Commercial Geography, Economics, etc.

B.—PROFESSIONAL GROUPS.

(a) *Accountants*.—Auditing, Accountancy, Company Accounts and Procedure, Mercantile Law, Economics, Advanced Arithmetic and Algebra.

(b) *Bankers*.—Practical Banking and Finance, Economics, and the subjects prescribed for the examinations of the Institute of Bankers.

(c) *Insurance Clerks*.—Building Construction and Plan Drawing, Practice and Law of Fire Insurance, Principles and Law of Life Assurance, Principles and Law of Accident Insurance.

(d) *Railway Clerks*.—Signalling and Block Working, Coaching Traffic, Merchandise Traffic, Station Accounts, Chief Office Work, Audit Office Work.

It will readily be understood, so rapid has been the development of technical instruction in Ireland under the Act of 1899, that various developments and modifications have been found necessary in working same, and the nature of some of these testifies well to the active interest of the officials of the Department. The report of the Department for the year 1910-11 records "two great principles are embodied in the revised regulations: one, the payment of grants for organised courses of instruction, and two, an increased rate of payment for prolonged attendance. The effect of the introduction of the course system has been wholly beneficial, and the schemes of work in urban centres, both large and small, have been rendered much more efficient as a result of this provision."

The first of these, namely, the course system, was introduced because of the tendency of students to enter only for some single subject, entirely neglecting the study of allied subjects, without a knowledge of which their education lacked the comprehensiveness and coherency which alone could render it adequately useful to them.

A reference to the first year's prospectus of the Rathmines school shows a number of distinct classes styled "Junior" and "Senior," instead of the present preparatory and specialised courses. Thus in the early days of the school there was a class for English correspondence, which included handwriting, spelling, and punctuation; while in the later prospectus there appears the following course, "English (grammar, composition, reading) and commercial geography." In the earlier prospectus we have shorthand as a separate subject, book-keeping as a separate subject, and it was the practice of a student to take the one or the other according to fancy; now the entry is for a course or group of allied subjects, so that such student will take "Book-keeping, shorthand, and a foreign language." A reference to the list of specialised courses given above will further illustrate the point, and, as far as possible, a technical committee will formulate and the Department will approve of the correlation of any subjects likely to be helpful to a student when taken together. For instance, in a seaport town a course for a male student was approved consisting of the subjects of cookery and the Spanish language. At first sight it might appear that probably the most useful foreign language to a cook would be French, but further enquiry would disclose the fact that the seaport in question had an extensive trade with Spain, and the particular student who took the course was training for the position of cook in this service.

The second principle mentioned above by the Department as guiding its allocation of grants needs little elucidation. One of the great drawbacks to evening school is the inability or unwillingness of many students who are hard worked during the day to put in a good attendance at classes in the evening, and any incentive to the officers to note a drooping attendance is of value, besides providing for the schools a further and much needed source of income. Finally the Department has issued a regulation confining the payment of attendance grants to those students only who take "courses."

It will probably occur to anyone having a knowledge of educational matters that the adequate supply of properly qualified teachers would present a considerable difficulty in what was a comparatively new field, and to meet this

difficulty the Department has instituted a scheme of scholarships. The report for 1910-11 contains the following statement on this subject:—

“The Department has made provision for a supply of teachers of commercial subjects who will be capable of giving instruction in some of the higher branches. Four scholarships were awarded in 1904, two in 1905, six in 1906, three in 1907, and eight in 1910. Fifteen Scholars have completed a two years' course of training at the London School of Economics and Political Science (University of London), and have been engaged in teaching in the country under the Department's schemes. Of the eight who were awarded scholarships in 1910, two are at present temporarily engaged in teaching under local technical instruction committees in Ireland, they will take up the second year of their scholarships in the session of 1911-12. The other six are continuing their studies at the London University.”

It will thus be seen that this essential matter is fully recognised.

These annual reports of the Department give incontestable evidence as to the great strides which technical education, including commercial training, has made in Ireland since the passing of the Act in 1899, and the giving of the facilities therein contained. I have already borne witness to the general wisdom which has attended the administration of the Department, though I shall later have to criticise their action as regards one most important development of commercial education.

By the year 1903 the work had got well under weigh, and the report tells us that:—

“In no part of the work of technical education has the advance been so rapid and so sound as in the urban centres. In centres where, three years ago, there was no instruction of the kind, there are now largely and regularly attended schools. The experience of the last three years has shown that this is no passing phase. The attendance has been maintained and the character of the work improved and deepened. Indeed, it is quite clear that there was urgent need for such a class of work as is now being done.”

The work of evening technical schools is not without inevitable limitations. In the first place, the amount of time that can be devoted to evening classes by students engaged in daily work cannot in the nature of things be large. If it were possible, it would scarcely be desirable

* that such students should attend on more than two or three evenings per week. Moreover, it is a common complaint that students joining these evening classes are very ill prepared to receive the benefit of technical instruction properly so called. Whatever may be the cause, their previous education has not been such as to fit them to take full advantage of technical classes. Notwithstanding these difficulties the schools succeed, and this is largely because those attending them are anxious to get instruction. The report for 1909-10 states :—

“ The various schemes of technical education under local authorities throughout Ireland are, on the whole, doing excellent work. They are revised annually in accordance with the experience gained. Nearly all the local authorities are now spending the whole of their available income, and in many cases their operations are very materially restricted by want of means.”

The industry and energy thus indicated refers, of course, to technical instruction in many branches, but further on in the same report we read :—

“ The Department's provision for commercial instruction by means of specially trained teachers has resulted in a great development of this branch. The schools already established in Rathmines, Cork, Limerick, and Waterford are meeting with great success, and are obviously meeting a great need.”

From the report for 1910-11 we learn that, as regards the City of Dublin, and ten Urban Districts in the province of Leinster, there were enrolled 4,849 students, and of these 1,619 were in the commercial classes, the similar figures for Munster were 3,501 students enrolled, of whom 787 were attending commercial classes. For Connaught 698 students were enrolled, of whom 163 were in the commercial classes. The figures for Ulster were 10,709 students, of whom 2,402 were attending the commercial classes.

I have now sketched the history and progress of commercial education in Ireland under the Department. It is clear that the Act of 1899 provided for a long felt want, and that its administration has been elastic enough to meet the varying conditions of different localities, and to facilitate progress along the natural lines. We must not, however, conclude that we have attained the level which should be desired, and which undoubtedly appears possible when we consider the progress that has been made elsewhere

It is always difficult to compare the educational system of one country with that of another, but, within limits, the comparison is not only helpful but necessary. We naturally in this connection turn first to Germany. I have no first hand personal knowledge of German educational methods or results, but apart altogether from the specialised commercial instruction, I have frequently endeavoured to compare general elementary and secondary education in Germany with that in England, and, giving the opinion for what it is worth, it appears to me that the curriculum in Germany is better balanced and more coherent, but that the average of the actual teaching is not superior in any marked degree. I should add, however, that, I think the re-action against classical studies has gone much too far in Germany.

Among the diplomatic and consular reports issued by the English Foreign Office, there is one dated September, 1904, upon commercial instruction in Germany, drawn up by His Majesty's Consul at Stuttgart. This report is a very full one. It states:—

“The movement for the provision of commercial instruction in Germany dates from the beginning of the 18th century, and manifested itself in the addition of commercial courses and classes to various schools, and in the foundation of independent schools for commercial instruction. The most important schools of this description during the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries were those in Hamburg, Magdeburg, and Berlin. Since then the number of commercial schools of all descriptions has multiplied enormously and in all directions, and the scope of the instruction has been broadened and deepened so as to provide commercial instruction of every possible grade, from the highest facilities afforded by the commercial universities to the lowest afforded by the commercial evening continuation schools. Enquiries made in all directions of manufacturers, merchants, dealers, agents, exporters and importers elicited—with few dissentient voices—an almost unanimous expression of opinion as to the great benefits conferred upon German trade by the provision of thorough practical and theoretical instruction for all classes of persons engaged in commercial callings.”

Mr. Town, Assistant Secretary for Commercial Education to the London Chamber of Commerce, in a lecture delivered a few years ago gives further particulars of what has been done abroad and in London.

“In New York State alone there are no less than 500 business training colleges, many of which were established fifty years ago; while throughout the whole of

the United States of America there are a very large number of similar institutions."

Of the Germans Mr. Town says:—

"These people are giving special attention to the teaching of commercial subjects, and have formulated a system so complete that there are no less than five distinct grades of commercial schools established throughout the German Empire. So convinced are the Germans of the importance of commercial education as a means of securing new markets, and of wresting the older ones out of the hands of their rivals, that this class of education is commenced in the elementary schools, from which pupils pass successively through advanced commercial schools on to the commercial universities."

Mr. Town again says:—

"I feel it will emphasise the lethargy which this subject has in the past received by calling attention to Japan. This enterprising and vigorous people are already making themselves felt as our rivals in trade in the far east, in India, New Zealand, Australia, and the West Indies. In Japan commercial education has for some years received special attention, and at Tokyo there is a higher commercial school with upwards of 500 students in daily attendance. This school is maintained by the Japanese Government, and cost for site and building, no less than £28,000. Here students can obtain a complete course of commercial training at a cost of about £2 10s. od. per annum."

Speaking of London, Mr. Town says:—

"Ten years ago there was but one evening commercial school, whereas to-day there are upwards of 34 commercial and science and art centres, schools at which students may be prepared in all the subjects of the commercial education syllabus of the London Chamber of Commerce. At many of these schools there are upwards of 2,000 students enrolled, very nearly all of whom are young men and young women engaged in city offices during the day."

Mr. Town goes on to say that at the first examination instituted by the London Chamber of Commerce, in the year 1900, only 65 candidates presented themselves under the junior scheme; and of these but 17 were found to have attained such a level of proficiency as to warrant the issue

of certificates; while the figures for the year 1908 showed that the number of the candidates had risen to 6,009, of whom 3,097 passed the tests. A syllabus for juniors was drawn up by the Chamber in the year 1894, and out of 25 subjects it was only possible to obtain in the first year entries for examination in one of these. That subject was book-keeping, and 17 candidates presented themselves, of whom only 4 could be certified as capable book-keepers; and yet prizes to the value of upwards of £250 were held out as an inducement. By the year 1908 the number of candidates had risen to 2,516, and of these 1,607 were awarded certificates; the result achieved is undoubtedly due to the instruction given in the schools. Commercial education in Germany is given in secondary schools of various descriptions, most of which are in receipt of State aid. The consular report above mentioned states:—"The schools are supported by the municipal and communal authorities, Commercial Guilds, Chambers of Commerce, various associations of private persons." Within the last dozen years commercial universities have been established, either as independent institutions or allied with already existing bodies, and there is apparent a strong effort after co-ordination.

The instruction given in the German commercial schools is on the whole very similar as regards subjects to that which I have described as given in the Rathmines School, but the curriculum of the latter contains more advanced instruction, some of the subjects taught there being reserved for the German commercial universities; and as will be readily understood, these latter new and State established institutions have more of that undefinable character which is expressed in the line, "*Deutschland Deutschland uber alles.*" There is one feature in this consular report which is emphasised on several occasions. That is the tendency, the increasing tendency, to diminish and as far as possible to eliminate evening instruction, and to substitute day classes. Thus, in the twelve years preceding the date of the report, the percentage of the day commercial schools had risen from 37 to 44, the evening schools had sunk from 47 to 30, and the combined day and evening schools had risen from 16 to 26, the last showing largest increase of all.

Those who are engaged in commercial education in Ireland have, I think, a legitimate pride in what they have accomplished, a pride that must, however, be tempered by the knowledge of the much greater progress that has been achieved elsewhere; and, in considering our success, I think that everyone outside the ranks of officialdom will experience a mild surprise at finding a government department so adaptive and so sympathetic in its methods.

It is clear that the work has now reached a point at which a further development is imperative and inevitable, unless we are to be content with a system that, though good as far as it goes, will, if not expanded, as other systems have been, deprive our country of the highest advantages to be obtained from such education, advantages which have in no small degree contributed to the immense expansion of commerce in Germany and the United States. This development lies in the establishment of day classes, not to supersede the evening classes, but which, leaving to them their present useful work, will provide not only commercial instruction, but commercial education in its fullest sense. The drawbacks and limitations of the evening classes are well described by Mr. Williamson, in a paper read by him before the annual congress of the Irish Technical Instruction Association in the year 1911. He says:—

“The evening school of commerce is now a well-known feature of our technical instruction schemes throughout the country. It has been my good fortune to be closely associated with two of the most notable of these, viz., in Belfast and at Rathmines. In both there is a high standard of efficiency in teachers and taught, and in both there is probably in the advanced stage of the several subjects, as good output as can be found anywhere under equal and similar conditions; and, backed up as the instruction is by daily practice in large commercial and industrial concerns, furnishing a fine body of skilled workers for the service of the community. But the course is deficient in width; men and women in these evening classes necessarily apply themselves to that portion of the general scheme which lies nearest to their present or future function. The accountant is not a linguist. The linguist is not an accountant. Moreover, the time is too limited; the student who fills up two evenings per week is doing well; he who does three evenings often fails to finish the session in some, if not all, of his work. In the aggregate, 60 hours evening attendances must be accounted fairly good application, and this exactly equals a fortnight's continuous work in the day school. Again, there are from time to time, great breaks in the attendance, corresponding with the stock-taking seasons, overtime, and so on, of the offices in which the students are employed, not to mention the casual falling off due to bad weather, social attractions, and other destructive influences, against which we are continually struggling.”

Not only are day classes required for their own inherent usefulness, but without them, the chairs of commerce now

being established in our universities will prove sterile for lack of students.

There would appear to be three agencies to which we might look to provide this necessary, fuller, and more systematic education.

(1.) Special Schools, established, not with a view to providing an ordinary secondary education, but special commercial instruction. There are such schools existing, established by private persons, and undoubtedly doing good work, but it is obvious that a number of scattered and isolated units, with no co-ordination or inter-communication, and having no common standard cannot possibly provide a thought-out, generalised, and coherent curriculum; nor maintain that touch with the other agencies, the evening schools on the one hand, and the universities on the other, which is necessary if we are to attain the results which other nations have achieved. Moreover, the proprietors of such private schools are at a considerable disadvantage. Pupils resort to them for instruction in some special selected subject. Shorthand or book-keeping perhaps will be learned, but no general education will be received, and any attempt of the school proprietor to suggest the study of an allied, but perhaps not immediately remunerative branch, is regarded with suspicion by the student and his parents, as being prompted merely by self-interest.

(2.) As regards the existing secondary schools of the ordinary type, is it possible for these to give genuine commercial education? This is of course, no new idea. It has been frequently attempted, but no matter how sincere the efforts have been, they must be pronounced a failure.

In the report of the Department for the year 1903-4, it is noted that, of the courses established for secondary schools, the most popular were physics and chemistry; and a hope, but not a very robust one, is expressed that the schools "will study the question of the probable future careers of the pupils and choose such courses as will best fit them for their after lives." The report classifies the schools into those "in which the pupils are being trained for a future professional or ecclesiastical career," and those in which "The pupils on leaving school pass into industrial employment of some kind or other."

To remedy the "scarcity of provision for such teaching bearing closely on industrial requirements day trade preparatory schools were established." "These schools specialise in science, drawing, and manual work, but also devote a fair proportion of them to literary subjects." These trade preparatory schools have been thoroughly successful.

In the same report it is stated, "On a review of the three years work now ended, one generalisation appears to be fully justified. The teaching of experimental science and drawing has taken its place in Irish secondary schools as an element of general education." Undoubtedly drawing is one of the most useful and general educative subjects that can be taught to a boy or girl, but we may be allowed to doubt whether the physical science taught in the schools will have very much bearing on the future business career of say an insurance clerk, or a typist.

In the report for the year 1909-10 we read, under the heading of secondary schools, "The work done under the Department's programme for secondary schools continues to progress satisfactorily. It is not anticipated that any further considerable development can take place in this branch of the Department's work." As a plain matter of fact, no provision for commercial education through the medium of secondary schools has been made by the Department, and there is no indication of any intention to do so, and in the light of experience it may safely be said that any such attempt would be useless.

If we turn to another public body whose work is directly connected with the teaching in the secondary schools—the Board of Intermediate Education—we shall find that up to the present, the tentative effort it has made to induce these schools to supply the need has proved unsuccessful. Some time ago the Commissioners issued a scheme of grants for proficiency in a limited number of commercial subjects, the taking of such subjects by a pupil in a secondary school being entirely optional, and not required for the ordinary intermediate certificates; but the Board, after a short experience, abandoned grant giving for these subjects, and substituted a mere pass examination, for the convenience of such schools as desired to include book-keeping as an optional subject in their curricula. Even this meagre effort was fruitless. The figures for the year 1911 show that of the total number of boys examined, 13.7 per cent. took book-keeping, and the figures for the girls are lower. These returns are for the junior grade, the middle and senior showed even poorer results. Clearly the secondary schools have not filled the gap. The regulations of the Intermediate Board for 1914 indicate another effort to deal with the want, an evidence at least of the uneasiness of the Commissioners on the point. Courses have been arranged including some additional subjects, but still very meagre when compared with what is offered by the municipal evening schools, and the golden lure of result fees is held out for the attraction of

the school proprietors. Beyond this no change is attempted, and it needs little experience and knowledge to foretell another failure.

(3) There remains the establishment of Day Commercial Schools under the Department as the only course. It cannot be said that such schools would conflict with the interests of the secondary schools, and we must also not forget that through the grants of the Intermediate Board the private secondary schools receive annually a very large sum of public money for capitation fees, prizes, and examination expenses. Moreover, these schools also receive from the Department itself very large grants, amounting in the last fiscal year to £27,955 4s., of which over £25,000 was for experimental science and drawing. In the face of all these facts it cannot be contended that the opposition of a few interested proprietors of private schools can be permitted to stop the due and necessary development of commercial education in Ireland, losing for the country at large the benefits it would derive, and rendering much less useful the arrangements for the higher stages in the universities.

Recognising the necessity for a day school, the Rathmines Committee of Management laid before the Department in March, 1912, a scheme for an experimental school asking for a grant of £250 for the first year and £500 per annum in succeeding years. After six months consideration of the proposal, the following reply was received:—"In order to avoid possible injury to existing secondary schools, which make provision for commercial teaching, the Department, in the best interests of technical education," refused to sanction the expenditure necessary.

It is not stated in this letter whether the Department referred the matter to the Board of Technical Instruction for its consideration, and it would be interesting to know if this was done, as it is difficult to conceive of a fairer case for the advice of such a body.

It is strange that, while the Department upon finding that the existing schools did not make provision for the course in mechanical science, approved the establishment of the day preparatory manual schools of which I have before spoken, it nevertheless refuses to sanction the proposal for the day commercial school; and, unless a more liberal and progressive policy is soon adopted, it seems inevitable that commercial education in Ireland will not only receive a check, but can never attain the usefulness and coherence which have borne such ample fruit in other countries.

**"SLUMS: A SOCIOLOGICAL RETROSPECT OF THE
CITY OF DUBLIN."**

By S. SHANNON MILLIN, ESQ.

[Read Friday, 23rd January, 1914.]

In submitting a paper on a subject which, at the present moment, is engrossing public attention, I wish to observe strictly the rules of the Society which rightly exclude the introduction of "topics likely to produce discussions connected with religious differences or party politics." But with this reservation I wish to bring before the Society certain historical facts which, in my opinion, have led to the present deplorable condition of the housing of the poor, with its attendant evil consequences. If I required an excuse for my paper, I would quote the words of the Chief Secretary, Right Hon. A. Birrell, M.P., in reply to a deputation which recently waited on him in reference to the Dublin Housing Problem:—"As long as people rested content to live surrounded by such things as had been described, they were in a bad way themselves, perhaps even in a worse way than their poorer neighbours, who endured these terrible conditions. The more that was said, and thought, and written on the subject, particularly when there seemed to be a little light lifting over that black veil, the better it would be for all. . . . It was the awakening of public opinion that was, after all, the only security for the remedy of the terrible evils which existed in Dublin." (29th October, 1913).

We have a graphic description of the grandeur of Dublin during the latter part of the eighteenth century, in a book which has been recently published, "The Georgian Society." Speaking of Merrion Square, in which the first four houses were built in 1762, it says:—"In Georgian days, particularly the closing years of the eighteenth century, this was a most fashionable quarter. Peers and Parliament men predominated, and a house in Merrion Square was considered essential for social success. Little change was wrought by the Union, for few of the former members were returned to the Imperial

Parliament, partly owing to the reduced representation of Ireland, and partly because the increased cost precluded barristers, so numerous in the Irish House, and, in fact, all except the wealthier country gentlemen, from sitting at Westminster. . . . The aristocratic inhabitants used to make the square a fashionable promenade." (Vol. IV., p. 69).

Here is another picture in the year 1900 by the Medical Officer of Health:—"Dublin is, in truth, a poor city, and no street and square in it is distant 500 yards from a purlieu. . . . You cannot walk 500 yards in Dublin without coming to a place inhabited by the very lowest section of the people. All round Merrion Square, all round Fitzwilliam Square there are purlieus."

As the late Recorder of Dublin, Sir Frederick Falkiner, has truly said:—"The current history of Dublin is a tale of two cities, a city of splendour and a city of squalor: diverse as the poles."

(Transactions of National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, Dublin, 1881, p. 571).

CENSUS OF IRELAND, 1911.

According to the recent census figures (Cd. 6049-II.), the population of the city (or County Borough) of Dublin is 304,802. The land area (excluding 166 acres of water) is 7,745 acres. Deducting from that acreage 1,314 acres under crop, 1,905 acres under grass, and 64 acres of plantations, we have 4,462 acres of houses, roads, streets, on which 304,802 people live, or 68·3 persons per acre (Table I.).

Sir Charles Cameron, in his Health Report for 1912, says there are 38·8 persons per acre in the city, but that calculation is based on the larger acreage.

The number of houses is 35,477, or an average of 8·2 persons per house; and the number of distinct families is 62,365, or an average of 4·6 per family (Table 8).

The Professional Class numbers 18,438; and the Domestic Class numbers 18,232.

The Medical Class numbers 2,358, or ·77 per cent. of the population, made up as follows:—Physician, surgeon, and general practitioner, 342; dentist, assistant, 180; medical student, assistant, 470; subordinate medical assistant, 849; midwife, 215; hospital certificated nurse, 302.

The Clerical Class numbers 1,784, or ·58 per cent. of the population, made up as follows:—Clergy, 415; monks, 157; nuns, 829; itinerant preachers, 46; theological students, 265; others, 72.

There are 85 principal public institutions in the city, with a population of 18,629, of which 15,533 were special inmates, such as paupers, patients, lunatics, prisoners, leaving 3,096 other than special inmates.

City Boundary
Extension by
Dublin Corporation
Act, 1900.

	1881	1891.	1901.	1911.
Population ..	249,602	245,001	290,638	304,802
Acreage ..	3,807	3,733	4,161 "A."	4,462 "B."
Density of Pop. per acre.	65.5	65.6	69.8	68.3
No. of Families	54,725	51,851	59,263	62,364
No. of Houses Inhabited.	24,211	25,764	32,061	35,477
No. of Houses Uninhabited.	3,060	3,448	3,195	1,934

"A"—Not including 1,309 acres under crop.

"	2,183	"	grass.
"	74	"	plantations.
"	118	"	fallow.

"B"—Not including 1,314 acres under crop.

"	1,905	"	grass.
"	64	"	plantations.

POOR LAWS.

(1). "An Act for erecting a workhouse in the City of
1703. Dublin for employing and maintaining the
poor thereof." 2 *Anne*, c. 19.

The first direct provision for the relief of the poor was made in 1703 by the above Act, the preamble of which

states "that the necessities, number, and continual increase of the poor within the City of Dublin and liberties thereto adjoining, are very great and exceedingly burdensome, for want of workhouses to set them to work, and a sufficient authority to compel thereto." A corporation to have perpetual succession was created, and called "The Governors and Guardians of the poor of the City of Dublin," with power "to apprehend all idle or poor people begging or seeking relief, or who receive parish alms within the county of the city or liberties thereto adjoining and also to detain and keep in the service of the said corporation until the age of sixteen years any poor child or children found or taken up within the said city or liberties above the age of five years," and to apprentice out such children to any honest persons, being Protestants, a male child under the age of 24 and a female child under the age of 21 (s. 4).

Section 11 enacts "that all that the parcel of ground walled in on the south-west end of James's Street and a parcel of land adjoining thereto, called the pipes, containing about 14 acres, on which are built several houses called George's Folly, being the donation of the said city, for and towards the support of the said workhouse, shall be and is hereby vested in the said governors and guardians of the poor of the said City of Dublin, and their successors for ever, for the use, support, and maintenance of the said poor to be employed in the said workhouse."

On 24th June, 1710, the House of Commons "Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the strict and due execution of the several laws in force in this kingdom against sturdy beggars, and for confining the poor thereof to their respective parishes, would be a public and seasonable service to this kingdom." (Irish Com. Jour., Vol. III., p. 780).

(2.) An Act (*inter alia*) "for establishing a regular watch in the City of Dublin." 10 Geo. I., 1723. c. 3.

Section 17 recites: "And whereas great number of idle and vagrant persons do daily resort from the country to the City of Dublin and suburbs thereof, who, by reason of the correspondence they generally keep with the beadles of the several parishes, and the neglect of such beadles in the performance of their duty, are permitted to beg in and throughout this city."

The Lord Mayor was empowered to make rules for beadles to clear the city of beggars and inflict a fine of

10s., and, in default of payment and distress, to send them to house of correction for 48 hours.

- (3). "An Act for the better regulating the Workhouse of the City of Dublin, and to regulate and provide for the poor thereof." 1 *Geo.* 1727.
II., c. 27.

We see from the preamble of this Act, that 2 Anne, c. 19, "hath not answered the good end and design proposed thereby: but notwithstanding the said Act the city and liberties thereto adjoining are extremely burdened with great numbers of poor and idle vagrants, many of whom are able to work and earn their bread, if proper care were taken to regulate and employ them."

The corporation was reconstituted, and called "The Governors of the Workhouse of the City of Dublin (s. 2), and their powers were extended to "full power and authority to seize and apprehend any sturdy beggar or beggars, or other idle vagabond or vagabonds . . . begging or strolling, or frequenting any of the streets or houses within the said city or suburbs of Dublin or the liberties adjoining," and any person so apprehended could be committed to the workhouse for any term not longer than four years with hard labour.

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid: That all and every poor child or children, found or taken up within the city or liberties, which shall be left to be maintained by any parish or parishes in the said city or liberties aforesaid, who are unable to support themselves, shall, from and after the age of six years, be admitted and received into the said workhouse, and there be taught to read and write and thoroughly instructed in the principles of the Protestant religion of the Church of Ireland, as by law established." (s. 26).

"And whereas the exposed or foundling children left yearly on the several parishes in the city and suburbs of Dublin are very numerous, and do mostly perish before they attain the age of six years for want of due care and provision for them: and it is manifest that neither the workhouse of the said city or the fund thereof is large enough for the reception or relief of such foundlings before they attain the age aforesaid: it is therefore enacted that overseers of the poor shall be elected for every parish in the city and liberties to take care of foundlings till admitted into the workhouse," s. 28. Section 20 provides "that a parish cess be made for their support."

1729. (4). "An Act for the better enabling the Governors of the Workhouse of the City of Dublin to provide for and employ the poor therein, and for the more effectual punishment of vagabonds: and also for the better securing of and providing for lunatics and foundling children." 3 *Geo. II.*, c. 17.

Section 6 enacts, "That from and after 25th March, 1730, the governors of the said workhouse shall receive from the church-wardens of the respective parishes of the said city and liberties adjoining all the exposed and foundling children that shall then be in the said city and liberties thereunto adjoining under the age of six years."

1735. (5). Section 2 recited: "That there are great numbers of loose idle vagrants, and of loose persons of infamous lives and characters in Dublin, and the County of Dublin," and it is enacted "that such persons may be presented by the Grand Juries of the Court of King's Bench, or the Session of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol delivery, held in the King's Courts after term for the county, or City of Dublin, and sent on board His Majesty's fleet, or transported for seven years." 9 *Geo. II.*, c. 6.

In 1737 Swift published "A Proposal for giving Badges to the Beggars in all the Parishes of Dublin," and from it we gather that the House of Industry did not afford adequate relief for the poor. "The principal end I take to have been that of maintaining the poor and orphans of the city, where the parishes are not able to do it; and clearing the streets from all strollers, foreigners and sturdy beggars, with which, to the universal complaint and admiration, Dublin is more infested since the establishment of the poorhouse, than it was ever known to be since its first erection."

1749. (6). "An Act to provide for begging children, and for the better regulation of Charity Schools, and for taking up vagrant and offensive beggars in the City of Dublin and liberties thereof, and the liberties thereto adjoining." 23 *Geo. II.*, c. 11.

The preamble recites: "Whereas there are in almost every part of the Kingdom great numbers of helpless

children who are forced to beg, and who will in all likelihood, if some proper care be not taken of their education, become hereafter not only unprofitable but dangerous to their country."

"And whereas several strolling beggars and vagrants, labouring under various disorders which render them not only offensive to the sight, but also dangerous to the health of many of the inhabitants of the City of Dublin, do daily resort from different parts of this kingdom to beg alms in the public streets and liberties of the said city to the great annoyance of the inhabitants thereof, by exposing their infirmities in order to move compassion. And whereas the Court of Assistants of the Governors of the Workhouse of the said city, or any one or more of them, are empowered in and by an Act (3 Geo. II., c. 17) to commit all such beggars and vagrants to the said workhouse; but the said workhouse, not being capable of containing or accommodating the great numbers of such beggars and vagrants who resort to the said city, several of the Governors of the said Workhouse, with others charitably inclined, have erected an almshouse in the said city, called the Hospital for Incurables, where several such miserable objects are attended by physicians and surgeons and provided with all necessaries" (s. 10).

In 1768 Dr. Richard Woodward, then Dean of Clogher, published "An Argument of the Right of the Poor in this Kingdom to a National Provision," in which he lays down three propositions: "(1) That the poor are so inadequately provided for by voluntary contributions in this kingdom as to stand in need of some legal title to a maintenance. (2) That it is the indispensable duty of the rich to provide a competent maintenance for the poor. (3) That it is eminently for the interests of the commonwealth that this duty be discharged in an ample and effectual manner." Strange as it may appear, this was the first proposal for a national provision for the Irish poor, although it had been the birthright of the English poor for 167 years.

- (7). "An Act for better regulating the Foundling Hospital and Workhouse in the City of Dublin, and increasing the Fund for the support thereof." 11-12 *Geo. III.*, c. 11.

This Act repeals all previous Acts, and creates a Corporation, with a common seal, "to be called the Governors of the Foundling Hospital and Workhouse of the City of Dublin" (s. 4). It further enacts: "Whereas the reception of vagabonds and strolling beggars into the same

house or within the same walls with children will be manifestly injurious by the setting a bad example. . . . Be it enacted that, after 24th June, 1772, no vagabond or strolling beggar shall be sent into the same house, or kept within the same walls with the children hereby intended to be provided for" (s. 13).

- (8). "An Act for Badging such poor as shall be found unable to support themselves by labour, and otherwise providing for them, and for restraining such as shall be found unable to support themselves by labour or industry from begging." 11-12 *Geo. III.*, c. 30.

Preamble:—"Whereas strolling beggars are very numerous in this kingdom: And whereas it is become equally necessary to give countenance and assistance to those poor who shall be found disabled by old age or infirmities to earn their living, as to restrain and punish those who may be able to support themselves by labour or industry, and yet may choose to live in idleness by begging: and it is just to call upon the humane and affluent to contribute to support of real objects of charity."

Section 5 requires the corporations created by the Act "to build hospitals, to be called Workhouses or Houses of Industry, as plain, as durable, and at as moderate expense as possible."

Speaking of this Act, the Royal Commission of 1833-1836 says in the First Report:—"There is more truth, more common sense; there are more sound views of political economy in this title, in this preamble, than in all the previous Acts of the Irish Legislature put together. Had the same wisdom directed them in carrying out the details of their measure for remedying the grievances which demanded redress, as is to be found in the drawing of the above outline, and had their patriotic exertions been aided by the Parliament of England, Ireland might now be looked upon as a model of good government and happiness by those to whom she is only known by her misfortunes and crimes."

One of the principal founders of the House of Industry was Rev. Dr. Woodward, to whom I have already referred. Born in England, he owed his appointment in Ireland to that system of patronage, the abuses of which were "probably unparalleled in Europe" (Lecky, "Ireland in the Eighteenth Century," Vol. I., p. 204). Woodward, however, was an exception, and always evinced the most

enlightened regard for the welfare of the poor, irrespective of their professed religion, in the land of his adoption. He was ordained Dean of Clogher in 1764; Chancellor of St. Patrick's in 1772, and was consecrated Bishop of Cloyne in 1781. One of the provisions which he laid down in 1768, viz., "the indispensable duty of the rich to provide a competent maintenance for the poor," was embodied in the preamble of 11-12 Geo. III., c. 30, viz.: "It is just to call upon the humane and affluent to contribute to support of real objects of charity." In 1775 he published "An Address to the Public on the expediency of a Regular Plan for the Maintenance and Government of the Poor," in which he states that one of the immediate effects of the suppression of begging in Dublin was the failure of many of the low retailers of spirituous liquors. He also estimates that the gross number of beggars infesting the streets of Dublin was 2,000, and that their gains from begging amounted to £31,200 per annum. In 1782 he strenuously advocated in the Irish House of Lords, to which he had just been elevated, the entire repeal of the Penal Laws against the Roman Catholics.

In the following year, 1773, the House of Industry was established in Dublin, and, as will be seen from the above preamble, the Irish Legislature looked to voluntary effort for its support, and so did not make compulsory provision for relief. The voluntary contributions proved to be entirely insufficient, and Parliament was obliged in 1777 to vote a grant of £4,000 towards its support, and from that period annual grants were voted. The original object of the House of Industry was the suppression of mendicity in Dublin, but as applicants were, from a very early period, admitted indiscriminately, it became a national rather than a local institution, and may be regarded as the Poor House for the greater part of Ireland. Two wards were opened in 1774 for the accommodation of medical and surgical patients, under the care of two physicians and two surgeons. In the year 1790 the Corporation for the Relief of the Poor elected a third physician and a third surgeon, and also a consulting physician and surgeon. As a corrective to the increasing cost of the institution, the dietary was reduced to 1800. This, however, did not accomplish the desired object, and in 1816 it was appropriated to (1) infirm and aged; (2) sick labouring under acute or chronic diseases; (3) orphan children; (4) idiots and lunatics. It thus became a great hospital for the reception of such paupers as came within the above-mentioned classes.

The history of the Foundling Hospital is so remarkable that I must point out some of the principal stages in its

development. When the workhouse was erected in Dublin in 1704, no child under the age of five could be admitted. In the Act of 1729 (3 Geo. II., c. 17), children could be admitted into the workhouse, irrespective of age, and in the following year "a cradle or turning wheel" was provided at the gate, so that infants could be taken in at any time, without inquiries being made. ("A Brief History of the Ancient Foundling Hospital of Dublin," by W. M. Wodsworth). In 1772 the children were separated from the vagabonds and strolling beggars, whose bad example might be injurious to the children. In 1773 (13-14 Geo. III., c. 17) it was enacted that no child above 3 years was to be admitted into the hospital (s. 1). In 1775 (15-16 Geo. III., c. 25), the age was limited to 12 months (s. 1). Henceforward the old workhouse, which now forms portion of the South Dublin Union in James's Street, became purely and simply a Foundling Hospital, and the children were badged with a seal, representing a female, with a distaff, "Industry," and the motto, "The diligent hand maketh rich."



As I have already stated, the Foundling Hospital was established in 1772, with the avowed object of separating the children from vagabonds and strolling beggars, whose bad example might be injurious to the children. The

development of that institution may be summarised in the words of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws. (Report on Ireland, Cd. 4630).

"The Dublin Foundling Hospital gradually became one of the most gigantic baby-farming, nursing, boarding-out, and apprenticing institutions that these countries have ever seen. The objects of the institution were avowedly two-fold: firstly, to prevent the 'exposure, death, and actual murder of illegitimate children'; and secondly, to educate and rear children taken in charge of the institution 'in the Reformed or Protestant Faith, and thereby strengthen and promote the Protestant interest in Ireland.' Both these objects were, however, more or less frustrated by the operation of natural causes." Par. 274.

"The mismanagement of the Foundling Hospital became so notorious that a Committee of the House of Commons inquired into the matter on oath in 1797. It appears from their Report that, out of 12,768 children admitted in the six years ended 24th June, 1796, 9,786 had died; and 2,847 were unaccounted for. The management was 'reformed' under a new Act of Parliament in 1798." Par. 275.

A Select Committee on the Irish Miscellaneous Estimates, in a Report dated 19th June, 1829, recommended that, from and after 1st January, 1830, all further admissions to the Foundling Hospital should cease. The total Parliamentary grants during the thirty years ended 31st December, 1829, amounted to £787,682, or an average annual grant of over £26,000.

It is impossible to conceive a more scathing commentary on the prostitution of charity than that which the history of the Foundling Hospital reveals. The "management" seems to have acted in strict accordance with the motto which was inscribed on the Seal of the Institution. It recalls Swift's statement:

"Yet I confess I have known an hospital where all the household officers grew rich, while the poor, for whose sake it was built, were almost starving for want of food and raiment." ("A Short View of the State of Ireland," 1727).

"The training up and educating poor children as Protestants, and the repression of vagabondism, appear to be the objects chiefly sought to be attained by all these Acts of the Irish Parliament: and to these objects the relief of the infirm and destitute poor seem to be regarded as a matter altogether secondary and subordinate." (Nicholls' "History of the Irish Poor Laws," p. 50).

In 1804 a select committee of the House of Commons reported:—"That the adoption of a general system of provision for the poor of Ireland, by way of parish rate,

as in England, or in any similar manner, would be highly injurious to the country, and would not produce any real or permanent advantage, even to the lower classes of people who must be the objects of such support."

A Royal Commission—composed of men intimately acquainted with the Irish people, and having as their Chairman, Archbishop Whately—denounced the English system of poor relief as unsuited to Ireland, after a close investigation of the question extending from 1833 to 1836. When the Poor Relief (Ireland) Bill was before the House of Commons in 1838, eighty-six petitions, with 31,221 signatures, were presented against the bill, and four petitions, with 593 signatures, in favour of it. Every Grand Jury in Ireland, with one exception, had petitioned against it. Daniel O'Connell and Lord Castlereagh, for the first time, coincided in their views, and fought side by side in the House of Commons in opposing the bill. At a meeting in Belfast, presided over by Rev. Dr. Cooke, three cheers were given for O'Connell, who was present, and spoke against the bill (see Report of Vice-Regal Commission on Poor Law in Ireland, Cd. 3202, p. 12). Yet, in spite of the overwhelming expression of Irish opinion, the workhouse system, based and modelled upon the English system, was established in Ireland by the Poor Relief (Ireland) Act, 1838 (1 & 2 Vic., c. 56), which received the Royal Assent on 31st July, 1838.

On the passing of 1-2 Vic., c. 56, that portion of the House of Industry which comprised the asylum for the aged and infirm and the asylum for the lunatics, was appropriated by the Poor Law Commissioners as the Workhouse of the North Dublin Union, and opened for the destitute poor on 25th March, 1840. The Hospitals (viz., the Hardwicke Fever, erected in 1803; the Richmond Surgical, erected in 1811; and the Whitworth Medical, erected in 1818), were under the control of the Poor Law Commissioners, though supported by moneys voted by Parliament, under the direct management of a paid governor appointed by the Lord Lieutenant. Out of a Parliamentary grant to this institution of £11,859 per annum, the sum of £7,600 was expended on the three hospitals, and £4,259 on the workhouse.

HOUSING OF THE POOR.

The problem of housing the poor in the City of Dublin is by no means a question of recent years, and, for the origin of the present deplorable conditions, we must look deeper than "the character and conduct of the Dublin

Corporation as at present constituted." For more than a century the dwellings of the poor have been far from satisfactory, and at a time when the Established Church was in full possession and enjoyment of its State emoluments, the lanes and alleys surrounding its numerous churches in Dublin were a living lie to the fundamental principles of Christianity.

I would ask your particular attention to the following picture of Dublin towards the end of the eighteenth century:—

In 1805 Rev. James Whitelaw, Vicar of St. Catherine's, published "An Essay on the Population of Dublin, being the result of an Actual Survey taken in 1798." At page 50 he says: "In the ancient parts of the city the streets are, with few exceptions generally narrow, the houses crowded together, and the reres or back yards of very small extent.

. . . A single apartment in one of these truly wretched habitations rates from 1s. to 2s. per week; and to lighten this rent, two, three, and even four families become joint tenants. As I was usually out at very early hours of the survey, I have frequently surprised from ten to sixteen persons, of all ages and sexes, in a room not fifteen feet square, stretched on a wad of filthy straw, swarming with vermin, and without any covering, save the wretched rags that constituted their wearing apparel. Under such circumstances, it is not extraordinary that I should have frequently found from 30 to 50 individuals in a house.

. . . . This crowded population, wherever it obtains, is almost universally accompanied by a very serious evil—a degree of filth and stench inconceivable except by such as have visited these scenes of wretchedness. . . . In the garret I found the entire family of a poor working shoemaker, seven in number, lying in a fever, without a human being to administer to their wants. . . . I counted in this sty 37 persons, and computed that its humane proprietor received out of an absolute ruin, which should be taken down by the magistrate as a public nuisance, a profit rent of above £30 per annum, with unfeeling severity. . . . I am certain that every friend to decency and cleanliness, every person who is anxious to promote the comforts of the poor, will join in my opinion that a police which attends to our streets and lanes only, and that but partially, while it never bestows a thought on the back yards of the poor, performs only one half its duty; the more essential part, perhaps, is neglected. . . . In July, 1798, the entire side of a house, four stories high, in Schoolhouse Lane, fell from its foundations into an adjoining yard, where it destroyed an entire dairy of cows. I ascended the remaining ruin through the usual approach of shattered

stairs, stench, and filth. The floor had all sunk on the side now unsupported, forming so many inclined planes; and I observed, with astonishment, that the inhabitants, above 30 in number, who had escaped destruction from the circumstances of the wall falling outwards, had not deserted their apartments; I was informed that it had remained some months in this situation, and that the humane landlord claimed, and actually received, for it the usual rent."

We sometimes have a comparison drawn between Dublin and Belfast as to their relative proportion of pauperism, and the conditions under which the poor are housed in the two cities. But the consideration of this question has, unfortunately, become so intermingled with religious prejudices and political feelings that the most monstrous and absurd theories are often advanced. In order to draw an impartial comparison we must not overlook the past history of the two cities. At the close of the 18th century, Dublin was one of the largest and most populous cities in the United Kingdom; while Belfast had a population of 18,320 in 1791. Immediately after the Act of Union, Dublin ceased to be a metropolis for the wealthy, but it continued to be a metropolis as regards the poor, and, to a very large extent, it has remained so since. According to the First Annual Report of Commissioners of Irish Poor Laws, dated 1st May, 1848: "The number of persons who received gratuitous rations (under Temporary Relief Act) on 4th July, 1847, is shown by the returns to have been in North Dublin Union, 27,734, and in South Dublin Union, 29,775; and the proportion of these persons classed as able-bodied amounted, together with their families, in North Dublin Union to 21,466, and in South Dublin Union to 24,966" (p. 5).

Dublin resembles very much the elder brother whose inheritance is encumbered estates—the result of past profligacy, corruption, and extravagance—which are not sufficient to keep up the family dignity. Belfast, on the other hand, resembles the younger brother, whose inheritance is somewhat similar to that which is said to be the Kerryman's fortune, viz., a map of the world, and a kick from behind.

Coming down to more recent years, Mr. Nugent Robinson, City Hall, Dublin, says, in 1861: "The dwellings of the poor in Dublin may be justly termed a 'disgrace to modern civilization.' . . . These places are like so many hotbeds, from whence all diseases are transplanted into our hospitals. The number of tenements, that is, of houses let out in rooms within the municipal boundary, is close upon 8,000, or better than one-third of the total number

of houses in the entire city. As the large majority of these are overcrowded, we may safely venture upon the average of eight persons to each house, which gives us 64,000 people out of a population of 249,733—50,000, at least, of whom reside in a fetid and poisonous atmosphere. The dwellings of the poor are chiefly confined to about 450 lanes, courts, and alleys, and about 60 streets. I have taken 134 of the worst streets and alleys, and the following are the results, as near as I could gauge them. In these 134 streets there are 2,102 houses occupied by room-keepers; 11,214 rooms; 14,850 beds, including wads of straw, and 40,319 persons."

"There is a class of people in this city called 'house-jobbers.' To this community the wretchedness of the dwellings of our poor is mainly owing. They buy up dilapidated houses and re-let them, either by the house or by the room. As a general rule, the 'jobber' remains behind the scenes, while the actor is some low brutish agent employed on commission to collect the rents by hook or by crook. The 'jobbers' are utterly averse to ameliorating the condition of their tenants when anything in the shape of expense is liable to be incurred. It is to be regretted that many men of social position belong to this class." (Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1861).

Mr. Henry J. P. MacLean, Chairman of the Public Health Committee of the Corporation of Dublin, estimated that in 1867 there were 9,000 tenements in Dublin, let at weekly rents not exceeding 3s., in which resided 27,000 families, or more than one-third of the population. He says:—"There are in Dublin 1,295 houses occupied by 3,258 families, without space whereon to construct any sanitary conveniences: that of these 635 houses (occupied by 1,598 families) are wholly unprovided with any sanitary accommodation; and that 660 houses, occupied by 1,670 families, are but jointly provided with such accommodation, which does not, however, stand upon their own premises." (Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1867).

In 1879 a Royal Commission was appointed, consisting of Sir Robert Rawlinson and Sir Francis MacCabe, "to inquire into the system of sewerage and drainage in the City of Dublin, in so far as such sewerage and drainage affected the sanitary condition of the city, and the state of the river Liffey flowing therein, and also to inquire whether such system was directly or indirectly prejudicial to the public health."

The Report (C. 2605), which was published in June, 1880, contains the following interesting facts :—

“The City of Dublin, in 1879, contained 23,830 houses; of these, 9,760 were occupied as dwellings let in tenements, and it appears from the evidence of the executive sanitary officer, that of houses of this description occupied by more than one family, 2,300, containing an estimated population of 30,000 persons, are in a condition which renders them unfit for human habitation, and some are not worth the expenditure which would be necessary in order to place them in a proper state, and to provide the requisite sanitary appliances” (p. 20).

“Under existing conditions it frequently happens that each room is occupied by a family, and, as far as can be ascertained, it would appear that about 117,000 of the population of Dublin are thus lodged. The average number of persons in each tenement house is stated to be from 10 to 12, but this number is frequently exceeded, so that excessive overcrowding is the rule. The occupants have to resort to one ashpit, placed in a yard, and, if there is a privy, it is utterly unfit for use.”

“Amongst the several sanitary defects of the City of Dublin, the condition of the tenement houses is, perhaps, the most pressing, and is certainly the most difficult to be dealt with” (p. 21).

“There are said to be about 1,100 tenement houses owned by five persons, who are not absentees, but who reside in the district for the purpose of receiving the rents. If these 1,100 tenement houses only yield £5 per annum each, there will be £5,500 per annum for these five owners, or at a rate of about £1,100 each. The great blot in Dublin, all admit, is caused by these tenement houses, and the peculiarity is that they are not confined to narrow streets and poor localities, but are to be found in all parts of the city.”

“The history of a modern tenement house fully told might be as interesting as a passage in a novel, and its gradual degradation shown to be as terrible as a tragedy.”

“The degradation of houses is, it is now clearly shown, at the root of most of the excess of disease to be found in Dublin. It is not defective sewerage, defective paving, defective street scavenging, or in the polluted state of the river Liffey, so much as in these horrible room tenements, which exist to the direct injury of more than 100,000 of the poor inhabitants, and at the indirect charge and direct money loss of the entire community. The poor people who overcrowd these tenements, and pay the pittance of 6d. or 1s. 6d. per week for their room, buy misery very dearly, in loss of wages through sickness and suffering.”

"The room tenements of Dublin, being the great sanitary sore of the city, we say that, until these places of residence are improved in some practicable and effective manner, there will be no hope or prospect of bringing the death-rate of Dublin to a moderate standard" (p. 22).

"The seats of the greatest amount of disease are to be found in the tenement houses and their surroundings."

"The last class of tenement houses comprises those described by the executive sanitary officer in his evidence as totally unfit for human habitation, and intrinsically not worth the cost of improvement. With regard to these, the duty of the Sanitary Authority is clear—the decision to close such houses admits principle of no hesitation" (p. 23).

"We have come to the following conclusions:—

"That the tenement houses of Dublin, according to the medical evidence so voluminously tendered at our inquiry, and embodied in this our Report, appear to be the prime source and cause of the excessively high death-rate. That they are not properly classified, registered, and regulated; that they are dilapidated, dirty ill-ventilated, much overcrowded, and that disease, a craving for stimulants and its consequences—drunkenness and extreme poverty—are thereby fostered, and that, until the condition of these houses shall have been improved, the general health of the city will continue to be injuriously affected."

"That most of the courts and yards in connection with tenement houses are unformed and unpaved, and that, as a consequence, there is an accumulation of offensive dirt, general discomfort, loss of health, and loss of power to earn wages" (p. 29).

"We further recommend that the entire scavenging of Dublin, both public and domestic, be undertaken, and carried out by the Corporation" (p. 31).

In 1885 a Royal Commission, appointed to inquire into the Housing of the Working Classes, issued their Third Report (C. 4547), which deals with Ireland, and contains the following:—

"Notwithstanding the energetic action of the corporation and of private persons and of societies, the condition of things in Dublin is very far from satisfactory. It is said that the great improvement which has taken place in some quarters is counterbalanced by the deterioration which is found in other districts. The evil of tenement houses exists very extensively in Dublin" (p. 6).

Statistics show no sensible diminuation of the general

death-rate. Sir Charles Cameron accounts for this by the general poverty of the people and their badly-fed condition, which is well described in the words of a memorandum by Mr. Wodsworth, Secretary to the Local Government Board, in which he says:—"It is a mistake, however, to conclude that the high death-rate in towns is attributable solely to the dwellings of the poor classes. It is due to other causes also. It is mainly attributable to the deteriorated constitutions of the population, a deterioration which is the result of inferior and insufficient food, poor clothing, and misery generally for generations, resulting in sickly, feeble, and strumous conditions of body, rendering the poor people obnoxious (to use a medical word) to disease, and unable successfully to resist its inroads and consequences. Sir Charles Cameron says there is not a more under-fed population in the United Kingdom than the working-classes of Dublin" (p. 7).

That the state of things is still far from satisfactory is shown by the fact that the death-rate of Dublin is still high, and is not decreasing.

"Overcrowding undoubtedly does exist to a very great extent in Dublin, as may be gathered from the following figures: 32,000 families out of the total of 54,000 residing in Dublin inhabit 7,200 houses out of a total of 24,000. No matter what the size of a room is, there is no doubt but that it is in the highest degree unhealthy for half-a-dozen persons to perform all the functions of life in the same apartment, as is frequently the case in Dublin" (p. 7).

In February, 1900, the Local Government Board of Ireland, acting under the provision of Section 209 of the Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1878, appointed a Committee, consisting of Charles P. Cotton, Esq., the Board's Chief Engineering Inspector (Chairman), Right Hon. Joseph M. Meade, Sir John William Moore, R. L. Swan, Esq., F.R.C.S.; Dr. Theodore Thompson, Medical Inspector, L.G.B., England; and Alderman P. Dowd,

"to inquire and report to them as to (1) the cause of the high death-rate in Dublin, and (2) the measures which, in their opinion, should be adopted with the view of improving the health of the city."

The Report (Cd. 243) was presented on 14th May, 1900, and contains the following:—

"The average density of the population in Dublin, as ascertained by dividing the population (according to the Census Return of 1891) by the number of statute acres

appears to be 65.6 per acre. The Registrar-General stated that he found this to vary in the eight registration districts from 46.2 persons per acre to 124.4 persons per acre. These figures cannot be relied on to any great degree of exactitude" (p. 7).

"The facts which came to the knowledge of the Committee clearly establish the existence in Dublin, in an exceptional degree, of several conditions which are wont to be associated with a high rate of mortality. Especially noteworthy among these are the insanitary circumstances in which a considerable proportion of the population of Dublin lives. It has to be borne in mind that the proportional amount of poverty in Dublin is very large, so that these unfavourable conditions associated with the houses of the poor are widely spread throughout the city. The poverty of much of the population of Dublin is, in itself, apart from the insanitary conditions referred to, a serious factor in the high death-rate of the city. The concomitants of poverty, more especially insufficient and unsuitable food and scanty clothing, both directly and indirectly, exert a marked influence upon the death-rate" (pp. 9-10).

"Any improvements in these numerous and widely scattered insanitary dwellings (tenement houses) must re-act favourably on the health of Dublin" (p. 11).

"It appears from the evidence that, in some cases, the letting of stables as dwellings is attended with bad results, and we think that the Sanitary Authority should have direct control in this matter" (p. 12).

A large number of lanes and alleys in Dublin had not been scavenged by the Corporation prior to the present year, when, however, on the suggestion of the Local Government Board, this work was immediately taken in hand by the Corporation, and is now being carried out. The failure of the Corporation, until recently, to scavenge these lanes and alleys, would appear to have been due to the fact that they have not taken them "in charge," so that many of them are very defective as regards sewerage and paving. It is clearly in the interests of the public health that all streets, lanes and alleys in the city, whether in charge of the Corporation or not, should be scavenged by them. This measure would be facilitated by the sewerage, levelling and paving of these streets, lanes, and alleys, where necessary; works which the Corporation are empowered to compel owners to carry out, by section 28 of the Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1878.

The Committee recommended:—

"That in 'tenement houses,' water should be laid on to each floor, and separate sanitary accommodation should be provided for at least every two families.

"That no stables should be let as dwellings without a license having been first obtained from the Corporation

"That schemes for housing a large number of the labouring and poorer classes should be taken in hand at once, and, if suitable sites cannot be obtained in the city, powers should be given to the Corporation to acquire sites outside the city, whereon the buildings can be erected. Those blocks of buildings should be erected before any further clearances of areas be carried out.

"That all streets, lanes, and alleys in the city, whether in charge of the Corporation or not, should be scavenged by them.

"That all dust bins be covered and emptied into covered carts, and that the contents of dust bins from tenement houses be collected daily" (p. 16).

On 30th November, 1906, Surgeon-Colonel D. Edgar Flinn, F.R.C.S., D.P.H., Medical Inspector to the Local Government Board, Ireland, issued a Report on the Sanitary Circumstances and Administration of the City of Dublin, with Special Reference to the Causes of the High Death-rate. That Report contains the following statements:—

"The tenement house system, which prevails so generally in Dublin, is responsible for largely aiding in the conditions associated with a high rate of mortality."

The rent paid for tenement rooms in Dublin is excessive, having regard to the accommodation afforded.

"The institution of an inspection of the tenement houses in the *poorer and more congested areas in the city*, with a view to obtaining a record of the number of rooms and the measurements and cubic capacity of each, would be of very great benefit, and should effectually assist in the prevention of overcrowding. The particulars and measurements taken should be registered, and tenement house-owners furnished with a copy setting forth the number of persons that should occupy each room. These particulars should also be posted in a prominent position in each tenement house. This is a question that should engage the earnest attentions of the Public Health Committee."

"The tenement house question is one of ever-pressing urgency, as the habits and insanitary surroundings of the tenement dwellers play a large part in influencing the prevalence of disease."

"One of the recommendations of the Committee appointed in 1900, that in tenement houses water should be laid on to each floor and separate sanitary accommodation should be provided for at least every two families,

has, I regret to say, not been acted upon. The absence of ample sanitary accommodation in the tenement houses occupied by more than two families tends to engender filthy habits. The residents in such houses do not always take the trouble to avail themselves of the accommodation afforded in the backyards, the result being that the landings and staircases are often in a filthy condition."

"The wages earned by the average labourer in Dublin is inadequate to maintain a family in a state of physical efficiency. Lack of employment, lowness of wages, as well as other economic causes, account for the poverty observable in many quarters of the city. . . . Being the capital, Dublin is the magnet which draws the unemployed and unemployable, as well as unskilled, from all parts of the country. . . . Being both badly clothed and nourished, they soon become a prey to disease."

"The sanitary surroundings and circumstances of stables used as dwellings are not suitable to the bringing up of children of tender years. Power should certainly be obtained to prevent the conversion of stables into dwellings. In the majority of instances the sleeping-rooms are situated directly over the stables, a practice that cannot be too strongly condemned. Although no stables are in future to be permitted to be used as dwellings, efforts should be made to decrease or abolish the large number of such places that still exist throughout the city, and that are still used as dwellings."

"It is quite clear that the chief causes which contribute to the high death-rate in Dublin are: (1) poverty with its attendant evils; (2) tuberculous disease; (3) intemperance; (4) insanitary conditions under which the poorer classes live; (5) overcrowding; (6) want of knowledge in the feeding and care of infants."

"The Committee in 1900 recommended that not only should water be laid on to each floor, but that separate sanitary accommodation should be provided for at least every two families. I regard this recommendation as vitally important, and, from a health point of view, absolutely necessary."

"In order to prevent overcrowding in tenement houses, and to limit the number of persons residing in them, some system of registration should be adopted whereby the number of rooms in each tenement house, and the measurements and cubic capacity of each room, could be ascertained, and a register kept recording these details. A system such as this would tend to check the overcrowding of families in tenement houses."

"PROPERTY HAS ITS DUTIES AS WELL AS ITS RIGHTS."

In a prominent position in the City Hall stands a statue of Thomas Drummond, erected in 1843, on the pedestal of which are inscribed the above words. Let us for a moment examine, as to how far the City Corporation has acted in conformity with the sentiment contained in those words. The Public Health Committee was constituted on 24th August, 1866. Since 1879 they have had the assistance of one of the ablest Medical Health Officers in the United Kingdom—Sir Charles Cameron, C.B., M.D. His Annual Health Reports are a worthy memorial to his indefatigable skill in pointing out the weak points of the health regulations, and, at the same time, to his deep interest in the welfare of the community, of which he is so worthy and honoured a servant. Here is what he says in 1909:—"There are 900 streets, lanes, alleys, courts, passages, and open yards not in charge of the Corporation. Placed one after the other, they would extend to a distance of thirty miles—from Dublin to Drogheda, for an illustration. The dwellings in these lanes are occupied by about 12,000 persons. . . . That the public health is affected injuriously by the existence of thirty miles of roadway, which, in general, is in a filthy state, I have no doubt whatever." Surely, such a state of affairs seems a scandal, especially as the Royal Commission, thirty years previously, recommended "that the entire scavenging of Dublin, both public and domestic, be undertaken and carried out by the Corporation." To the ordinary individual this would seem to be a clear instance of where the principle of the duties of property could be very advantageously applied.

In the Health Report for 1891 there appears at page 772: "I printed and submitted a report which will be found in Printed Papers 33/91, explaining the provisions of Public Health Acts Amendment Act, 1890, and recommending its adoption. . . . The following is the passage:—'The adoption of this section (27) would enable the Corporation to deal with the cases of many lanes which are now in a very insanitary state. It is extremely difficult to deal with the case of a lane not in charge of the Corporation, and not in a good state with regard to roadway and drainage: it is often the repository of all kinds of filth, causing nuisances injurious to health, and it is difficult and often impossible to discover who are responsible for the deposition of the filth. In many cases it would be sufficient to cleanse these lanes, in most of which there is but little traffic. At present they cannot be cleansed by

the Corporation until they are taken in charge, which means that they must be paved, drained and provided with lamps at a cost which, in some cases, would amount to hundreds of pounds. I find that there are on the north side of the city 75, and on the south side of the city 105 lanes and courts not in charge of the Corporation. . . . I may say that there is probably not a lane in Dublin that is properly cleaned, and I am of opinion that the Corporation should have them regularly scavenged under the provisions of the above Act.”

I am quite aware that difficulties are sometimes thrown in the way of the Corporation, and, as an illustration, I would quote Sir Charles Cameron’s evidence in 1900:—

“The Public Health Committee have power to cleanse private places, and to charge the cost of the cleaning against the owners of the property abutting. Well, the Cleansing Committee agreed, and the one great case was against Trinity College. There is a long lane there, parallel with Brunswick Street, running from McKenzie’s building nearly to the railway station at Westland Row. On the one side is the College Wall, and on the other the blocks of houses of Brunswick Street, south side. The Corporation cleaned this, and then required the College authorities to pay half costs. But they fought it out in the Courts—the Corporation lost. The College people said they had no door leading out on the lane.”

In the Health Report for 1891 there is a list of “Lanes not in charge of the Corporation,” and at page 96 there appears, “College Lane, rear of Great Brunswick Street—Condition of Lane, bad.” I have recently, upon several occasions, visited this lane, and on each occasion found it in a disgraceful condition. Why a wealthy body like Trinity College, Dublin, should permit a lane to be in such a condition, in close proximity to the students’ quarters, it is difficult to imagine. I would suggest that “The Dublin University Social Service Society,” whose object is the study of social and economic problems from the standpoint of practical Christianity, would concentrate their attention on College Lane, with a view to having it properly cleansed.

Another aspect of the tenement houses is that, while there is an ever-increasing expenditure on their inspection and regulation, the rates payable in respect of such property is vastly out of proportion to the rents received.

Prior to 1866 there was one inspector of nuisances in Dublin, who had other offices of a completely different character to perform. Shortly after the Public Health Committee was constituted in 1866, there were appointed

eight sanitary sergeants, *i.e.*, members of the Metropolitan Police, who received from the Treasury a moiety of their salary. This number was added to as follows:—

In 1884,	an Inspector,	8 Police,	12 civilians	
In 1891	"	8	"	16
In 1903	"	1	"	30
In 1912	"	0	"	35

I am not in a position to say what the increased cost of inspection amounts to, but that it must be considerable may be seen from the following expense of providing uniforms for sanitary officers. In 1884 it amounted to £84, *i.e.*, 12 uniforms at £7. In 1904 it had increased to £250, and in 1912 to £350. The expenditure estimated for 1911-1912 under the head of Sanitary Inspection was: Salaries and Wages £5,540, and Uniforms £350.

The Medical Officer of Health has stated that "By far the larger part of the department consists in the inspection of tenement houses." Now how do the owners of these tenement houses contribute to the extra expense entailed by reason of the existence of such houses? In the Annual Report for 1903, page 108, it is stated that in Church Street there are 74 tenement houses which accommodate 370 families. The total yearly rent amounts to £2,365, and the total valuation to £857 10s., or 27·5 per cent. Such a state of affairs acts as a premium on the creation of tenement houses, and is entirely antagonistic to the principle of the duties of property.

The following are a few extracts from the Annual Health Reports in reference to tenement houses:—

"In 1881 there were 24,211 inhabited houses in Dublin. In 1882 I had a survey of these houses made, the results of which showed that there resided in 7,234 of them no fewer than 32,202 of the 54,725 families living in Dublin. The houses contained 48,116 rooms. . . . According to the law 300 cubic feet of space must be provided for every person; but still a man and his wife and 3 children may legally reside in a room 15 feet long, 10 feet wide, and 10 feet high " (1884, p. 441).

"Nearly two-thirds of the inhabitants of Dublin dwell in crowded tenement houses, very old, decayed and built originally for one family. These old houses require constant inspection and constant repair, and in order to compel the majority of owners to do their duty and maintain these houses in a decent condition and fit for human habitation, the staff allowed to the Public Health Department are constantly and systematically at work. In the year 1891

over 31,930 sanitary defects were discovered in Dublin with a population of 245,000 and 30,221 in 1890. We may compare this with

1,880	defects discovered in	Sheffield	with	320,000	pop.
1,000	"	"	Bolton	"	115,000 "
3,162	"	"	N'tingham	"	212,000 "

The average yearly number of convictions before magistrates for breaches of sanitary laws in Dublin is about 3,000. There is now, and always will remain, a great amount of work to be done in order to regulate properly the large number of tenement houses in Dublin" (p. 763).

"By far the larger part of the Department consists in the inspection of tenement houses. There are 5,197 registered houses in the city. These houses contain 38,993 habitable rooms, affording accommodation for 26,057 families, consisting of 92,818 persons" (1891, p. 389).

"During the last dozen years, 2,700 of the 8,000 houses, in which 60 per cent. of the inhabitants of Dublin resided, have been detenanted and closed by Magistrates' Orders, obtained by the sanitary authorities. . . . Of the 4,300 houses which were never closed, very few have not been subjected to notices to have nuisances and defects in them abated and remedied" (1893, p. 85).

CHANGES IN THE LAW REQUIRED.

There is one matter upon which Sir Charles Cameron has been most persistent, and that is an amendment of the law to meet the requirements of local circumstances. In his evidence before the Committee of 1900, Sir Charles said: "We want urgently a change in the law (section 21 of Public Health Acts Amendment Act, 1890), with respect to this matter, which, I think, has something to do with the death rate. This matter is so important to the sanitation of the tenement houses of Dublin that I wish to call the special attention of the Committee to the point. If two families occupy each of them one house with a yard in common, they come under the provisions of the 21st section of the Public Health Acts Amendment Act of 1890; but if there are 16 families living in one house, and having sanitary accommodation in common, they do not come under it. . . . On a case being stated to the Court of Queen's Bench, it was held that the section did not apply to one house occupied by several families." (Smith *v.* Caffrey, 33 I.L.T.R. 142).

"Some houses in the city are now occupied by up to 20 families, having sanitary accommodation in common. In

the vast majority of tenement houses in Dublin each house has its sanitary accommodation, and there the tenant cannot be got at. We want an amendment of the law."

"A very curious state of things appears to exist in Dublin—that nuisances in individual rooms cannot be dealt with in the existing state of the law. The way the matter stands is that, no matter what state of filth we see in a room we cannot deal with it. I contend that in the case of any nuisance injurious to health, without any particular definition or distinction, it ought to be abated. Anything that is a nuisance should be abated."

"Mr. Wall decided, under section 2 of the Public Health Act, that 'premises' would not mean a single room in a tenement house, so that at present we are not able to deal with the insanitary state of individual rooms."

"A very large number of houses in Dublin are owned by persons in very high positions in society. Noblemen and gentlemen who do not live in Dublin at all own houses, let either yearly or on leases to persons who farm them out to the tenement class, and many owners of these houses care very little about them, or the persons to whom they let them. I am speaking of a gigantic state of affairs in Dublin—of hundreds and hundreds of houses If the owner of the house is in a good position we can get at him, and make him do the necessary improvements, and that is what we are calling on owners of houses to do every day. But if the person who rents the house does not live in it himself, but lets it to other persons, then he gets the rack rent and is liable, but, as a rule, he has no means to put the house into proper order. We cannot get the real owner of the house, because he is not the immediate rack-renter. The law requires urgent amendment. . . . This is an evil of great magnitude in Dublin, and ought to be remedied."

"My friend, the Recorder of Dublin, and I have had conversations, and he agrees that the expense of reconstructing sanitary accommodation and paying for the improved drainage should be distributed as it is in England—distributed *pro rata* on all persons who derive the benefit."

In the Public Health Report for 1905 there is an article entitled, "Legislation required to Improve the Sanitation of Dublin," in which Sir Charles Cameron says, at p. 66: "The powers which the Corporation possess are not sufficient to deal with the many causes of the high death-rate. An Improvement Act mainly dealing with sanitary matters is urgently required, and, I trust, will soon be asked for."

I venture to suggest some additional powers, which, if granted, would, if employed, substantially aid in improving the sanitary conditions of Dublin.

"To make the occupiers of each tenement house responsible for the condition of their sanitary accommodation in the same way that the Public Health Act holds the occupiers of two or more houses having sanitary accommodation in common.

"To make bye-laws enforcing cleanliness by the occupiers of tenement houses, but still keeping in existing bye-laws the same power as regards landlords.

"To prevent persons using any house as a tenement house without first applying for permission to the sanitary authority, who would then have the house inspected to ascertain whether or not it was suited for such purpose, and, if so, what alterations were necessary in consequence of its altered conditions.

"Power to deal with derelict spaces and ruinous houses, acquiring those derelict for twenty years without compensation to the owners, whose property has been neglected for shorter periods.

"Power to build houses on derelict spaces and to dispose of them under the provisions of the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, or otherwise, or to let them."

Again, in Public Health Report for 1909, Sir Charles Cameron says, in an article entitled, "What is required to improve the Public Health in Dublin":—" (1) A considerable extension of the provision of healthy dwellings for the working classes, and especially of the very poor ones. (2) The regular cleansing of the hundreds of streets, lanes, courts, etc., not in charge of the Corporation. (3) The medical inspection of school children, and power to provide meals for those found to be insufficiently fed. (4) Provision for the housing of poor consumptives still at work, and of those unfit to labour. (5) The efficient carrying out of the objects of the Early Notification of Births Act and of the Tuberculosis Prevention Act. (6) Legislation to enable the Corporation to make Bye-laws for the better regulation of tenement houses, which, under the present Public Health Acts, would be considered *ultra vires*."

SOME CONSEQUENCES OF INSANITARY DWELLINGS.

The miserable and insanitary dwellings in which a large number of the population are housed may be regarded as a gigantic factory for the production of criminals to fill our gaols; of paupers to be supported at the expense of the

public rates; and of sick patients to be nursed and medically treated in the numerous hospitals, for the support of which constant appeals are being made to a charitable and generous public.

One of our leading physicians, Sir John Moore, M.D., has stated:—"Intemperate habits are engendered in a man who, if he had lived under proper sanitary conditions, would perhaps never have been induced to make free use of alcohol. Drunkenness again, by producing poverty and carelessness, further promotes insanitary conditions: thus drunkenness and insanitary conditions react on one another, each producing the other. Comfortable dwellings will do more to promote sobriety than any amount of legislation and teetotal agitation." (*Manual of Public Health for Ireland*, 1875).

For a better understanding of this important statement, I would ask attention to the following statistics. For the four divisions of the Dublin Metropolitan Police District, which practically corresponds to the city boundaries, there are 678 licensed houses for consumption on the premises, and 241 licensed houses for consumption off the premises. Of this total of 919 licensed houses, 760 are open for sale of liquor on Sunday. For the same year (1911) there were 1,913 arrests for drunkenness, and 944 for drunk and disorderly. There were 3,429 indictable offences, and 27,050 non-indictable offences committed within the Metropolitan Police District.

The number of paupers, according to the census of 1911, was 9,617, of which 5,602 were in the workhouses, or one to every 32 of the population. The number of lunatics and idiots in asylums was 1,891, of which 1,139, or .36 per cent. of the population were received from the city, while the number of prisoners in Mountjoy Prison, received from the city, was 294. (Table XII., Cd. 6049-II.).

In the Annual Public Health Report for 1903, there is a most interesting article on "How the Poor Live," from which I take the following:—"In 1903, 39.7 per cent. of the deaths—not merely in the city, but in the whole metropolis—took place in the workhouses, hospitals, lunatic asylums, and prisons. Out of a total of 9,047 deaths in the year, 1,168 occurred in the workhouses. . . . In Dublin nearly two-fifths of the families occupy single rooms" (p. 100).

"The number of articles pawned in Dublin is very large. From inquiries which I made some years ago, I ascertained that, in a single year, 2,866,084 tickets were issued in the City of Dublin, and the loans to which they referred amounted to £547,453, or at the rate of £2 4s. od. per head of the population" (p. 102).

But of all the consequences to insanitary dwellings, perhaps the most disastrous is the destruction of child life.

“These dirty houses pay the tax to death
In babies’ lives.”¹

But, apart from the actual physical destruction, the moral destruction is very far-reaching. I have already pointed out that, “of all those innumerable elements that act and react on the vital organization of a nation, there is none more important than the proper training of its youthful members, so as to secure the healthy development of their moral natures.”

(“The Duty of the State in relation to the Pauper Children,” *Journal*, Vol. XII., p. 250).

The Corporation of Dublin was one of the earliest local authorities to adopt the provisions of the Employment of Children Act, 1903, and to frame bye-laws for the purpose of regulating street-trading by persons under the age of 16. One of those bye-laws was: “In case of a boy or girl seeking or holding a license having no home, or no proper home, the Corporation shall be empowered to require, as a condition of a license to trade being granted, that he or she reside in lodgings approved of by the Corporation.” As Mr. J. R. O’Connell, LL.D., has pointed out to this society, “this regulation has been entirely ignored, and no attempt has been made to provide lodging-houses, or to inspect those to which the juvenile street traders habitually resort.” (*Journal*, 28th April, 1911).

The great problem of housing, which, as I have shown, dates back to the eighteenth century, retards many useful reforms, and none more urgently required in our midst than the establishment of a Day Industrial School. The Philanthropic Reform Association has been most persistent in urging on the Corporation the necessity of such a school being established, and has succeeded in getting the Estates and Finance Committee of the Dublin Corporation to make the following recommendation:—“After careful consideration, however, of all the information placed before us, we are of opinion, and so recommend, that the Council should agree to make a contribution of 2s. per head per week in respect of children received into certified Day Industrial Schools up to a limit of 100, provided that, in addition, a Treasury grant of 1s. per child per week was also obtained.”

This recommendation was made over two years ago, and the Corporation has made no further move, although the matter is of paramount importance, as a means of

¹ “Home in Dublin,” by W. M. Letts.

preventing some of those unfortunate children who daily crowd our streets from becoming habitual criminals, and thus a burden on the community at large.

I do not believe—and I say it with the most profound and sincere regret—I do not believe that, in any Christian country within His Majesty's dominions, there are to be found such shocking and demoralized social phenomena as we have at present in the City of Dublin. Yet I am hopeful, and I trust I ever shall be, that the great fundamental principle of Christianity—"Love ye one another"—will yet triumph over the selfishness and avarice of individuals; and that, by an united effort of the citizens, irrespective of party or creed, the Herculean task of cleansing the Augean Stables of slumland will be carried to a successful issue. For the realization of that much-desired end, we want a more enlightened public opinion as to the conditions in which the working classes are housed, and the temptations to which they are at present exposed. If my paper has in any way thrown a ray of light on the problem, or if it will act as a stimulus to a deeper study of the question with a view to a successful solution, I shall feel amply rewarded for bringing before your notice much of what I fear has long since been lost to public view.

I shall conclude with the memorable words which Thomas Drummond wrote to the Tipperary Magistrates in 1838:—

"Property has its duties as well as its rights; to the neglect of those duties in times past is mainly to be ascribed that diseased state of society in which such crimes take their rise; and it is not in the enactment or enforcement of statutes of extraordinary severity, but chiefly in the better and more faithful performance of those duties, and the more enlightened and humane exercise of those rights, that a permanent remedy for such disorders is to be sought."

UNSKILLED LABOUR IN DUBLIN.

ITS HOUSING AND LIVING CONDITIONS.

By D. A. CHART, M.R.I.A.

[Read, 6th March, 1914.]

Perhaps the greatest difficulty in the way of the social reformer is his lack of adequate information. He perceives, as all, who are not blind or deaf, must perceive, that all is not well with the commonwealth, that large numbers of the population live starved and stunted lives, that, despite our triumphs in science, our increased power to control the forces of nature, this old world still contains a greater amount of human suffering and squalor than seems consistent with the general development of the twentieth century. The *Lusitania* and the slum, the aeroplane and the tenement house, the boy scout and the street arab, contrasts such as these are to be met with on every side. Glaring social evils stare us in the face, yet the problems connected with them must be approached very warily, lest the effort to do good may bring about a greater harm. If we are to play the surgeon, we must study the anatomy of the body politic. The paper to be read this evening will illustrate a phase of life in the city of Dublin, the life of the class generally described as unskilled labour.

It is an extraordinarily numerous body. In fact it may be stated that at least a quarter of the adult male population of Dublin earn their subsistence by unskilled manual labour. The city is one of great commerce, but few manufactures. It is the chief port of entry for the great cross-channel trade between England and Ireland. It contains the termini of four great railways and possesses many large shops and business establishments. It is the receiving and distributing centre for the greater part of Ireland. The labour required in its docks, stations, and warehouses is largely of an unskilled or semi-skilled character—porters, labourers, carters, messengers, and the like. There are about 90,000 adult males in the city of Dublin, and of these

17,223 are described in the Census of 1911 as "general labourers," 3,081 as "carters, draymen, etc.," 4,604 as "messengers, porters, etc." Adding these figures together it becomes evident that 24,000 men, more than a quarter of the adult male population, are engaged in unskilled labour. It may, therefore, be seen how large a part this form of employment plays in our civic economy.

As regards wages, naturally, unskilled labour occupies an unfavourable position. The occupation requiring no preliminary training or experience, little more, in fact, than physical strength and fitness, the supply of hands at any time is usually considerably in excess of the demand. The ranks of unskilled labour are recruited not only from the families of the older labourers, who, in many cases, bring up their sons to follow their own occupation, but also from the flotsam and jetsam of other walks in life. For instance, the countryman, who drifts into the city, finding his agricultural knowledge useless, generally turns to unskilled labour. Skilled workmen, too, when on the downward grade and unable to obtain work in their particular trades, are often forced by sheer starvation to adopt the same course. These two influences, the excess of supply and absence of education or training, act together in depressing the wages of unskilled labour. In Dublin the average wage paid is about 18/- a week, and even so low a figure as 15/- or 16/- has been recorded. Where wages are apparently higher than this 18/- figure, it will usually be found that some new factor has entered into the problem, for instance, the question of trust or responsibility, or again irregularity of employment due to various causes. Thus builder's labourers are paid 20/10 per week, but in bad weather they suffer continually from "broken time," which reduces their wages, on the average, to a figure rather below than above the 18/- level. On the whole, it seems fair to take 18/- as the usual remuneration, and to describe the conditions as they exist on that basis, remembering always that the description must be taken as applying to at least a quarter of our total population.

We must begin the study by assuming that marriage is the normal state of man, and that, once youth is passed, celibacy will be the exception rather than the rule. It would immensely simplify social problems if we could, like the ants and the bees, evolve a class of sexless celibate workers, but, human nature being what it is, we must take into account the probable existence, in the majority of cases, of a wife and children to be supported out of the 18/- a week. Nor is it usually found that members of the labouring classes defer their marriages from prudential considerations, as is so often the practice in other ranks of

life. They marry young, often before they are well into the twenties, and are usually very prolific. The girl of the working-class districts in the centre of Dublin is the mother of a household at an age when the girl of the suburbs is engaged in nothing more serious than tennis or term examinations. Excluding from our consideration the single men, who are not a very numerous body in this walk of life, we may devote our attention to the family life of the Dublin unskilled labourer receiving an average weekly wage of 18/-.

In the first place it will be seen that not much can be set aside from the domestic budget for the item of housing expenses. The receiver of 18/- a week cannot afford to pay more than 2/6 to 3/- a week for the rent of his dwelling. Now the plain fact of the matter is that decent accommodation fit for the inhabitation of a family cannot be commercially supplied for this figure. Architects have bent their best powers to the task of devising a cheap but healthy house for the working class, but so far, I believe, it has not been found possible to erect a dwelling of this kind for less than £150, and if the builder is to be recouped for his outlay, he cannot accept so low a rent as 3/-, which would no more than pay interest on the prime cost, leaving no allowance for rates, repairs, insurance, bad debts, etc. The labouring man, therefore, in Dublin is driven to adopt the same policy with housing as with other necessities of life, the adaptation to his own use of the second-hand possessions discarded by his richer fellow-citizens. The great mansions of the eighteenth century aristocracy, forsaken by the class which designed them, have been occupied in quite a different manner by quite a different class of people. Instead of one family occupying a ten-roomed house, there is a family *in every room*, each paying from 2/- to 3/- a week for its accommodation. By the kindness of the Housing and Town Planning Association of Ireland, which is conducting a detailed inquiry into the housing conditions of Dublin city, I have been permitted to exhibit on subsequent pages typical specimens of the conditions found by their inquirers:—



TYPICAL, DUBLIN TENEMENT HOUSES.

(The two houses shown above are described in detail on
pp. 164-167.)

HOUSE

No. of case.	Situation of room.	Number of rooms held by family.	Number of family (resident members only, including lodgers).	Occupation of head of family.
25	Two-pair front.	1	3 (2 adults, 1 child)	Sailor ...
26	Two-pair back.	1	4	Mother a shirt-maker.
27	Front drawing-room.	1	7 (2 adults, 5 children).	Labourer or van-man (on strike, also broken arm).
28	Back drawing-room.	1	2 (husband and wife).	Tram yardman ...
29	Front parlour.	1	3 (widow, daughter and another child)	Charwoman ...
30	Back parlour.	1	4 (2 adults, 2 children).	Labourer ...
31	Front kitchen.	1	4 (2 adults, 2 children).	Labourer on strike).

Ten rooms in house (back kitchen vacant, no information received seem poorer than those in Nos. 5 or 6. The house generally was in a out of order and was being repaired. The drain which ran from it under badly. Four people were living in the kitchen at the time, and I saw information is incomplete.

Rooms investigated, 7.
Families resident, 7.

No. 7 (left-hand house in illustration).

Occupation of any other working (resident) member of family.	Total weekly earnings of family.	Rent per week.	Remarks (presence of sickness, state of room, &c.)
—	—	s. d. 3 0	Clean and tidy.
—	—	2 6	Tenant out.
—	16s. when in work.	3 0	These were most res- pectable people, and their room was well furnished. Children at school. 11 years in room.
—	18s. 8d. in full wage, but not regular.	2 6	These people seemed strangely out of place in such a house.
Young girl learning tailoring, 5s. a week.	12s.	3 0	Untidy room, but nice woman.
—	16s.	2 6	—
2 girls at Jacob's biscuit factory.	Man, 16s ; Girls' earnings not known.	2 0	This kitchen was dark and smelt very badly.

for front and back attic). People in the house, with two exceptions, worse condition, though not tumble-down. Yard clean, but lavatory was the kitchen floor was open, and the whole of the lower story smelt food on the table. The people of the attic did not reply to knocks, so

Inhabitants recorded, 27.

Total weekly rental, 18s. 6d

HOUSE

No. of Case.	Situation of room.	Number of rooms held by family.	Number of family (resident members only, including lodgers).	Occupation of head of family.
32	Top front	1	3 (no lodgers) ...	Charwoman ...
33	Top back	1	4 ...	Labourer (out of work owing to strike).
34	Two-pair front	1	4 (widow, son, 2 daughters).	Casual work when able to get it.
35	Two-pair back	1	3 ...	Works in Barrington's soap factory.
36	Front drawingroom.	1	6 (one lodger) ...	Charwoman ...
37	Back drawingroom.	1	3 ...	Labourer (locked out).
38	Front and back parlours.	2	6 (no lodgers) ..	Electrician ...
39	Front kitchen	1	6 ...	Labourer ...

10 rooms in house (back kitchen vacant). In every case accommodation inadequate for number in house, sole water tap being in yard, only one Rooms investigated, 9.
Families resident, 8.

No. 8 (right-hand house in illustration).

Occupation of any other working (resident) members of family.	Total weekly earnings of family.	Rent per week.	Remarks (presence of sickness, state of room, &c.).
—	6s. to 7s. ...	s. d. 2 0	Occupier out, hence information scanty. Walls and ceiling in good order.
—	16s. to 19s. when working.	1 9	Papers and ceiling in good order. Information scanty, as the mother was out.
Son, bookbinding apprentice. One girl in 'Jacob's, 7s. to 11s. a week (now 2s. 6d. strike pay). Other girl, laundry, 4s.	11s. to 15s.	3 0	Walls and ceiling in good order.
"The girl, 1s. 6d."	Man, 22s. to 28s. per week	2 0	Walls and ceiling in good order. Room very clean, but poorly furnished. Man drinks.
—	8s. to 11s. ...	3 0	Walls and ceiling in good order. Room clean and well furnished.
—	16s. to 19s.	2 0	Walls and ceiling in good order. Room clean, but very poorly furnished. Everything pawned. Decent man.
—	30s. to 40s.	5 0	Walls and ceiling in good order. Well and completely furnished.
Mother "charing"	—	2 6	Not admitted; further information refused by daughter acting on mother's orders.

not in proportion to rent, while water and sanitary arrangement quite lavatory. Yard very well kept, stairs rather dirty.

Inhabitants recorded, 35.

Total weekly rental, 21s. 3d.

Of the 15 families resident in these two "tenement houses," it will be noticed that 11 belong to the unskilled labour class. The average rent paid is rather over 2/6 a week. Such are the housing conditions of the great majority of the labouring classes of Dublin. Where they do not inhabit the old mansion cut up into one-room tenements, as shown above, they will probably be found living under even worse conditions in airless courts and alleys or in the tumble-down death-traps of the Church Street district and the Liberties (for illustrations see the terrible photographs appended to the report of the recent Committee of Inquiry). But the large tenement house may be taken as characteristic. Now, families living under such conditions as these are manifestly overcrowded and, as a result of such overcrowding, have to make continual sacrifices of comfort, decency, and health. Moral and physical contagion are ever present. Perhaps one or two illustrations from personal experience will be permitted. One is of a "front drawingroom" on a sultry day in August. A child lay ill with whooping-cough and was lying exhausted on the bed after a paroxysm of coughing. Flies were numerous in the room (it was a hot summer) and were passing and repassing from the food on the table to the face and body of the sick child. Another is of an indignant father who appealed to me, as one in temporary authority, to procure the ejection of a suspected "unfortunate" from the room above his own. He said he was trying to "bring up his childer dacint," and how could he do it with women like that in the house. Again, to consider merely physical conditions, how is absolute cleanliness possible, even with the best intentions, when some thirty or more people of both sexes and all ages and belonging to different families have to share the same water supply and the same sanitary accommodation, both on the ground floor of a four or five story house? Is there not a temptation to be dirty, when cleanliness involves the descent and ascent of perhaps eight flights of stairs and the carrying of heavy cans of water? Even the cleanest of us is not willing to clean up other people's dirt, and so the common hall and staircase become exceedingly foul, while the state of the common yard frequently beggars description. The sanitary officers do their duty, no doubt, but they cannot go into every house every day, and so evils often go for a long while undetected and unchecked. Again just consider such overcrowding as is shown in Case No. 27, seven people in one room, eating, sleeping, cooking, being born, as like as not dying, all within the compass of the same set of walls. Dirt fosters disease, overcrowding leads directly to tuberculosis, to infantile mortality and

many other evils. Can it be wondered then, considering that at least a quarter of our population live in dwellings of the type illustrated, that of all the cities of the United Kingdom, Dublin, year after year, has the highest average death-rate.

So much then for environment, that potent factor which particularly affects the young. Next arises the question of maintenance. What is the usual dietary of a family depending on the wages of unskilled labour? The recent researches of social inquirers supply us with a ready answer to the question. The labouring family, in a word, subsists chiefly on bread and tea. There are three meals in the day—breakfast, dinner, and tea (or supper). For the first and last meal tea and bread (with or without butter, dripping, or margarine, according to the state of the family finances) are the almost invariable bill of fare. Dinner shows greater variety, and is usually the only meal in which flesh food appears on the table. Meat, like butter, disappears from the dietary under financial stress, though even in the worst times an effort is made to give the breadwinner a sustaining meal in the middle of the day, even if wife and children can only have bread and tea. The dinner will sometimes consist of American bacon boiled with cabbage, or of fried herrings, or the cheaper parts of foreign meat, accompanied by boiled potatoes. Seldom are any other vegetables than potatoes, cabbage, and onions to be seen on the table. There is little scope for housewifely contrivance in the planning of the meals, which succeed one another for the most part with wearisome iteration. This is partly due to the fact that the grate of the tenement room is almost always of the "open" type familiar in sittingrooms or bedrooms of a better class house. Consequently it contains no oven; baking is impossible, and boiling and frying are the only culinary operations that can be performed. Thus the housekeeper is limited by the nature of her equipment. Porridge is little used; puddings and fruit, the joys of childhood, are almost unknown. Hence the daily fare of the labouring classes is characterised by extreme monotony, and this circumstance alone goes far to account for the drinking habits of some of our people. A squalid environment and poor nourishment depress the individual so much that he or she seeks the excitement and momentary cheerfulness that is provided so lavishly at every corner.

The chief criticism, indeed, that medical men pass on the dietary outlined above is that, even under the most favourable circumstances, it is only just sufficient for the maintenance of life and that it does not make for stamina or sturdiness of constitution. It is lacking in variety and provides no margin for emergencies. Those who live on such

a diet as this and in such homes as most of the Dublin labouring population inhabit, are certain to be a sickly class. Hale old age is seldom met with and infantile mortality is higher than it should be, seeing that it is the universal custom to bring up infants on the breast. Indeed the effects of inadequate nourishment and unwholesome surroundings are nowhere more noticeable than in the appearance of the poor children of all ages in our city.

Having dealt with housing and dietary, we may now proceed to other necessary or desirable features of human life. However, it must be premised that the labouring household must as a rule content itself with the provision of the barest necessities. Indeed, when the rent has been paid and the four or five hungry mouths fed for the week, there is little over to provide clothes, furniture, fuel and the like. The way of spending the money varies, of course, with different individuals, but a typical budget would perhaps be as follows:—

	s.	d.
Rent,	2	6
Fuel and Light,	2	0
Bread,	4	0
Tea,	0	9
Sugar,	0	8
Milk (usually condensed),	0	6
Butter (dripping, margarine),	1	6
Potatoes or other vegetables,	1	0
Meat, Fish, Bacon, etc.,	2	0
<hr/>		
Total,	14	11
Balance,	3	1
<hr/>		
Wages for week,	18	0

By the kindness of Rev. R. M. Gwynn, F.T.C.D., I have been enabled to check this budget by comparing it with those actually recorded in labouring households. It substantially agrees, except that at present prices the item of fuel and light would probably be considerably higher. As there are no facilities for storing fuel in the tenement room, even supposing that the labourer could spare the money to purchase in quantity, coal has to be bought in small amounts, the bag of $1\frac{1}{4}$ cwt., or even the stone of 14 lbs. The place of deposit for coal, oil, etc., is usually under the bed.

It will be seen from the typical budget quoted that there is only a balance of three shillings and one penny for provision or renewal of clothes, furniture, insurance, amusements, etc. It is a standing wonder that this scanty and

precarious balance can be made to provide for the innumerable small needs of a household. Clothes are a continually recurring item, and the usual practice is that already mentioned in connection with housing, the adaptation to the labouring class of the discarded possessions of the well-to-do. Husband and wife probably wear secondhand clothes purchased in Little Mary Street or elsewhere for a few shillings. The children go hatless and barefoot, and are frequently dressed in the worn-out clothes of their parents, rudely cut down to fit, thus producing that characteristic Dublin figure, the street child with its tousled head, its bare legs and the quaintly fluttering rags of its wardrobe.

Furniture, too, is usually bought secondhand and is confined to the barest necessities. Bedsteads, bedclothes, tables and chairs will be found in these households, but may be dispensed with at need. Boxes may be substituted for tables and chairs. If there is no bedstead or bedclothes the family may have to huddle in a corner and cover themselves with their united wardrobes. In some tenement rooms the bedstead is not to be seen in its usual place in the corner, but in its stead there is spread on the floor a mysterious and repellent assortment of rags, which few inquirers have had the hardihood to investigate and which is believed to serve as a bed. When hard times come, the furniture goes, and probably most of the clothes. Case No. 37 in the detailed account of typical tenement houses already given, shows a household thus depleted under stress of circumstance.

"Hard times" are unfortunately of frequent occurrence, and are usually caused by sickness or unemployment. Sickness, as has been said, is an inevitable result of the conditions of life, and periods of unemployment are characteristic of the life of the unskilled labourer. Quayside labour, for instance, which employs thousands in Dublin, is in its very nature, casual and irregular. Carting varies from time to time according as the volume of trade swells or diminishes. The Trades Unionism which has flourished hitherto among the labourers of Dublin is rather of the militant than the provident type, and little or no provision is made by the men themselves to guard against sickness or unemployment. If the breadwinner has to enter a hospital or is unable to get work, the wife goes out "char-ing," or obtains outdoor relief, or, more probably, assistance, from some charity or other. The clothes and furniture are pawned, the rent falls into arrears, and the financial equilibrium, always unstable, is completely disturbed. Furthermore, the evil effects of periods of destitution are not always removed when comparative prosperity is restored. Debts have been contracted, possessions which

have been sold or pawned must be replaced, and by the time all this has been done the wolf may be prowling around the door again. The housekeeper on 18/- a week is engaged in a never-ceasing hand-to-hand struggle with indigence. As a result she is obliged to have recourse habitually to measures which should only be a last desperate resort. Many households in this city have, as a regular feature of their weekly routine, an extensive pawning on Monday and redemption on Saturday. Needless to say, there is no room in the labouring family for the practice of any expensive vice by any of its members. Drunkenness or gambling on the part of husband or wife must mean privation for all.

From the continual financial stress, which turns the laughing girls of the poorer Dublin streets into the weary-eyed women of the tenement houses, no real relief comes until the children begin to grow up and contribute some part of their earnings to the family exchequer. By the time the boys and girls are fourteen or fifteen they are old enough to go out and earn a few shillings. Case No. 31 shows an instance of a labourer's wages being supplemented by the earnings of girls working at Jacob's biscuit factory. However, later on, when the boys and girls grow up and marry, the parents, now growing old, are thrown on their own resources and, though they have no one but themselves to clothe and feed, sometimes pass through a period of considerable penury before the Old Age Pension, "God's bounty," as some of the poor call it, descends on them at the age of 70. It must be remembered that an unskilled labourer at 50 or 60 is worth no more to his employer, but probably less, than at 20 or 30. Also, if by any chance he loses his employment when he is beginning to have the appearance of an old man, he is not likely to find another place easily.

Such, then, in some of its main outlines, is the life of a quarter of our city population, badly housed, ill fed, unhealthy, indigent, struggling, hopeless. The adjectives are not too strong, nor has the picture been painted in too gloomy colours. There are relieving features, no doubt, but their very presence heightens the general sombreness and squalor of the scene. The Dublin labouring class possesses several fine qualities. It is deeply religious, as is shown by many indications. It lives, as a rule, a much more moral and respectable life than could be expected considering its surroundings. It exhibits in a marked degree the social virtues of kindness, cheerfulness, and courtesy. The inquirers of the Housing and Town Planning Association, though they went into hundreds of dwellings during a great strike and asked a number of very

pointed and delicate questions, rarely encountered suspicion or incivility. Mentally and morally this class is probably on a higher level than the labouring classes of most cities. It is on the physical and economic sides that Dublin falls so far behind.

What, then, can be done to improve the position of the labourer and to rescue him from the Slough of Despond in which he lies? In the first place an increase of wages, or, at all events, a levelling up of wages to the figures now paid only by model employers, seems inevitable. Unless it is intended to enforce celibacy on the labouring population, the average weekly wage must be sufficient to support a family consisting of husband, wife, and children. Look at Cases No. 27 and 30, families of seven and four, each living on 16/- a week. It can only mean "starvation rations." The prisoners in the cells, the paupers in the workhouse, are better housed, fed and looked after than many of the honest and self-supporting poorer citizens of Dublin. I know economic objections will be raised to advocacy of increased wages. It will be said that if wages rise the price of commodities will rise proportionately, and the new wage will buy no more than the old. To this I would answer that the articles of the labouring man's consumption are not produced in Dublin, and therefore their prices, except so far as concerns cost of handling and delivery after arrival in the city, are not affected by variations in Dublin wages. The price of coal depends mainly on the circumstances prevailing in Great Britain, the price of bread, meat, butter, bacon, and potatoes on the agricultural condition of Ireland, Denmark, America, the Argentine, and other countries; and so through all the items of the budget already given.

The increase necessary to bring the remuneration of unskilled labour to a proper living wage need not and should not involve more than a trifling increase in the price of the commodity. For instance, take the extreme case of a coal carter, whose wages are increased from 16/- to 20/- a week, a rise of 4/-. A carter working 50 or 60 hours a week, probably delivers at least 35 tons of coal. Delivery, therefore, under the new rate will cost about 1¼d. per ton more than formerly. Of course, under such circumstances the Dublin coal merchants would, with singular unanimity, put up the price by one shilling per ton, if not two, and would try to make the public believe that the increased price was entirely due to the rise in wages. And even if our coal were to cost us the full shilling more, many of us would rather pay it than pay a shilling less and be troubled with the thought of the carter's miserable home and half-nourished children. If

the only solution of the problem is to pay more, in Heaven's name let us do so and be done with it. Cheapness is too dearly bought if it involves human suffering and degradation.

The same considerations really lie at the base of the housing trouble. The Dublin labourer cannot pay the rent of a proper hygienic dwelling, nor, if he could, are there 20,000 hygienic dwellings in Dublin at moderate rents ready for his occupation. These must be provided, and their provision will be a long, difficult, and expensive business. Still it must be faced, and, if no financial help or assistance can be obtained, we must meet the bill ourselves. The one-room tenement system must be attacked in every way, by stringent bye-laws, by refusal of rebates of taxation, by the offer of better accommodation at the same price elsewhere and under other conditions. The worst of the large tenement houses and all the wretched airless courts and alleys must be pulled down and a new working-class district, well provided with parks and public playgrounds, erected on their site. The better sort of tenement house may probably be converted into sets of self-contained two-room or three-room flats. Whole districts must be re-built, and the city to a large extent re-planned. There was a fine civic spirit at work many years ago when Westmoreland Street, D'Olier Street, College Green, O'Connell Bridge, and Sackville Street were designed. These characteristic and beautiful features of our city occupy the place of eighteenth-century slums and rookeries. Cannot we put something finer and better in the place of Cork Street, Church Street, and all their purlieus? May we not hope that His Excellency's generous offer of a prize of £500 for the best plan for the reconstruction of Dublin will provoke some such brilliant outburst of talent and civic spirit as history records in the not too remote past.

It will be said, doubtless, that the blame for the state of the slums lies with the slum-dwellers themselves, that the tenant of insanitary habits makes the house noisome, and so on, and that such people, if admitted to a palace, would soon turn it into a pigsty. We all know the stories of the bathroom used as a coal cellar and the water closet turned into a fowl-house. Undoubtedly there is a long educative process before those who would try to raise the standard of life of the Dublin labourer. His worst fault is his too easy acquiescence in a shameful and degrading position. He accepts the one-room tenement, with all that the one-room tenement implies, as his natural lot and often does not seem to think of, or try for anything better. If he had felt any real resentment against that system, he would not have elected so many owners of tenement

houses as members of the Corporation. Still, I think, he is beginning to awaken. And furthermore, if the better ideal is set constantly before him and if he finds more and more opportunities of putting that ideal into practice, he will probably readjust his standards of housing as readily as his brother the Irish rural labourer has done within recent memory. The old mud cabin was every degree as slipshod, as overcrowded, as insanitary, and dirty as the one-room tenement. The rural "labourer's cottage" is manifestly the dwelling of a man who feels that his home is a home and is worth a little care and attention. Who could feel much pride in the possession of a "two-pair back"?

There are other points which might be touched on, but which would require almost a separate paper for their discussion, for instance, the decasualising of quay labour, which has been put into practice in Liverpool, thus removing one great cause of unemployment. There is also the hope of turning an unskilled into a partially-skilled population by means of technical education; the creation of manufacturing industries in the city (that connected with dressed meat, for instance) as a means of removing its overdependence on unskilled workers; the part played by subsidiary employments suited for young people, such, for instance, as the Dublin biscuit industry, which employs hundreds of girls and thereby lightens the burden of hundreds of labouring families.

It is a many-sided subject and could nowhere be more fittingly discussed than before the distinguished visitors who have so kindly promised to honour the Statistical Society with their presence this evening. We can assure Their Excellencies that we fully appreciate the compliment they have paid us by their interest in the subject selected for this evening's paper, and we believe that discussion of such a topic before workers for the public good so great and so successful as the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen cannot but be productive of advantage for the city in general and its labouring population in particular.

HOUSING IN DUBLIN.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONTROL AND IMPROVEMENT OF TENEMENT HOUSES.

[Read March 27th, 1914].

The improvement of the Housing Conditions of the working classes in Dublin, dealt with in the Report of the Departmental Committee of the Local Government Board for Ireland, can be effected in two ways—(1) improving and better regulating existing houses, which are capable of being put in good repair, and by closing, and, if necessary, demolishing, houses which are, or are becoming, unfit for human habitation; and (2) by building new houses to accommodate those who have been or will be dispossessed from existing houses.

This Report has been prepared without waiting for the publication of the evidence taken by the Committee of the Local Government Board, and we defer the consideration of any Schemes for building New Dwellings until the full Report with Evidence, Appendix, and Maps, is available.

TENEMENT HOUSES.

The vast majority of existing houses occupied by the working classes consist of what are called "Tenement Houses," that is to say, houses intended and originally used for occupation by one family, but which, owing to changes of circumstances, have been let out room by room, and are now occupied by separate families, one in each room for the most part.

As regards those tenement houses, we make the following suggestions, some of which cannot be effected without legislation.

LICENCE.

As matters stand, there appears to be a difficulty in deciding what constitutes a tenement house, see Report,

p. 29, where it is stated that the powers of the Corporation cannot be used till the house has been occupied as a tenement house.

The obvious remedy is that such a house should not be permitted to be occupied unless licensed.

Each house should be licensed by the Corporation, the licence to be for one year, to be granted and renewed on such terms and conditions as the Corporation may think fit. This was proposed by the Corporation Bill of 1908, section 15, and is recommended in the Report, p. 28, with this limitation, that it should not come into force for five years in respect to existing houses. We see no reason why it should not come into force sooner, if the conditions are not too stringent.

A penalty should be imposed for using the house without a licence (Corporation Bill, s. 15).

An appeal should be given to the Recorder from the refusal of the Corporation to grant or renew a licence (Corporation Bill, s. 15).

CARETAKER.

If the landlord does not reside in the house there should be compulsorily a caretaker or other responsible person residing in the house and having charge of it.

The presence of a caretaker would prevent wilful damage by tenants, and tend to produce compliance with the Bye-laws, especially as to cleaning the stairs and passages, overcrowding in the rooms, and notification of infectious disease, and if the hall-doors were closed at night, and light provided in the hall, stairs and passages, the evils which are referred to in the report would be checked.

It is stated there on page 4 that:—"The front door is often left open all day and all night," and on page 5—that witnesses, including the clergy, have testified that—"The constantly open doors and the want of lighting in the halls and passages at night are responsible for much immorality."

WATER SUPPLY AND SANITARY ACCOMMODATION.

There should be a water tap and a sink to carry away dirty water on every floor.

The Bye-law No. 11 provides for privy accommodation so that the number of water closets or privies in relation to the greatest number of persons who, subject to the restrictions imposed by any bye-law in that behalf, may, at

any one time, occupy rooms in the house as sleeping apartments, shall be in the proportion of not less than one water closet or privy to each twelve persons.

This provision, which is also in the Liverpool Bye-laws, is, we understand, not enforced by the Sanitary Authorities as it should be, and we doubt if it is adequate.

The water closets are generally in the yard. There should be at least one in the house, if not one on every floor.

These provisions for water supply and sanitary accommodation should be made conditions for the granting and renewal of the licence.

SANITARY CONVENIENCES USED IN COMMON.

By s. 21 of the Public Health Amendment Act, 1890, if sanitary conveniences are used in common by the occupiers of two or more separate dwellinghouses, or by other persons, each of those persons may be held liable for the proper condition of the sanitary conveniences. It was objected that this does not provide for the case of a single dwellinghouse. The Corporation, in their Bill of 1908, proposed to remedy this, and s. 17 enacted that "the provisions of s. 21 of the Public Health Amendment Act, 1890, should extend and apply to any sanitary conveniences used in common by the occupiers of two or more dwellings situate in any one tenement house." We approve of this suggestion.

WASHING AND DRYING.

It is very desirable that space should be provided in the house for washing and drying clothes. We suggest that this should be provided in the basement, or yard, and that residence in the basement should be prohibited.

This has been done by the Alexandra Guild in Grenville Street, but it was found that the women were very slow to avail themselves of it.

COOKING APPLIANCES.

Good cooking is essential to health, and badly fed men and women cannot work properly. The small open bedroom grates in the upper rooms in tenement houses are quite unfit for cooking meals, however simple, and waste much coal. We suggest that where the ordinary grates in living rooms are not suited for cooking purposes, small open ranges or stoves should be provided. They are not by any means expensive, about £3 15s., including fixing.

REGISTRATION OF TENEMENT HOUSES AND ENFORCEMENT OF BYE-LAWS.

The registration of Tenement Houses prescribed by the Dublin Corporation Act, 1890, s. 29, should be strictly enforced, and the register should be open to the inspection of ratepayers.

The Bye-laws should be strictly enforced, and the provisions of them against overcrowding should be supplemented by posting in each room a Notice specifying the number of persons allowed to inhabit it. Defacing or removing the notice should be prohibited.

Such a notice is prescribed in the case of common lodging-houses by the Bye-laws in force in Dublin and Liverpool, and there seems no reason why it should not be done in the case of tenement houses. The Bye-laws, which, the Report states, have not been enforced as they should be, were made in 1902. They were repealed by the Corporation on July 25th, 1913, and new Bye-laws substituted, which were confirmed by the Local Government Board on November 26th, 1913. The Report does not refer to these new Bye-laws. They are the same as the old Bye-laws, with certain alterations, which were apparently made to meet decisions of the Divisional Magistrates. No. 41 requires that no proceedings are to be taken against a landlord for breach of a Bye-law until he has had notice of the complaint, and has failed to remedy it. This provision occurs in the Liverpool Bye-laws, and the absence of it was held by Mr. Swifte in 1910, following a decision in England (*Nokes v. Islington Corporation* (1904), 1 Q.B. 610, 615), to make Bye-law No. 28 of the Bye-laws of 1902 (requiring the landlord to clean the stairs and passages) unreasonable and bad.

Another alteration is the introduction of the words, "where the landlord has the right of access" to the house or room, limiting his liability to such cases. We do not know if this alteration was made in consequence of some decision, but it seems strange that a landlord of a tenement house could deprive himself of the right of access to any part of it, and plead that as a good defence. If the system of licence we have suggested be adopted, the licensee will be responsible for the condition of the premises, and notice of defects should be served on him or on the caretaker, and should specify a particular date for the removal of the defect complained of.

The Liverpool Bye-laws are similar to the Dublin Bye-laws, save that they provide for greater cubic space for each individual, and for the separation of the sexes.

PUTTING HOUSES IN REPAIR.

The Report shows that most of the tenement houses have been allowed to go out of repair, and the difficulty is how to get the owners to put them in repair. The Corporation have no power to interfere unless the want of repair is such as to make the house unsanitary, dangerous, or unfit for habitation. If the system of licensing is adopted, it could be made a condition that the house first should be put in proper repair, and the caretaker would then be responsible for its proper maintenance. Apart from that, something can be done if the owners of houses who hold them under lease, as nearly all do in Dublin, recognised their liability under the covenant in the lease to keep the house in repair, or if the head landlords, their lessors, threatened them with legal proceedings for breach of the covenant to repair, and took proceedings if they refused to comply with the covenant.

Lessors are, as a rule, satisfied with payment of their rents, and there are, no doubt, difficulties in the way of legal proceedings, firstly, in ascertaining who is assignee of the lease, and secondly, as the lessor is only entitled to damages for the injury to his reversion, such damage would be small, unless the lease had only a few years to run.

ACQUISITION OF TENEMENT HOUSES BY THE CORPORATION OR BY COMPANIES OR INDIVIDUALS.

Sir Charles Cameron, in his Report on the state of Public Health in Dublin for 1912, p. 107, is of opinion that the Corporation should acquire and remodel tenement houses such as those in Gardiner Street, and let them in flats, and thinks that they could do so without loss. We agree with his opinion. If tenement houses can be acquired and carried on without a loss by such bodies as the Alexandra Guild Tenements' Company, the Social Service Tenements' Company, and the Association for the Housing of the Very Poor, there is no reason why there should be a loss in the case of the Corporation. We would go further, and say that, inasmuch as it will not be practicable (even if it were advisable) to erect new dwellings for all those requiring new accommodation, which, reckoning on replacing one-half of the second-class houses and all the third, amounts to fresh quarters for 41,477 persons (see Report, p. 3 (8), it would be desirable that the Corporation

should acquire empty houses in fair structural condition, and fit them up as tenement houses. The Corporation appears to have these powers under the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, and the Act of 1908, s. 7, enables them to acquire or establish lodging-houses for the working classes (which include separate houses or cottages for the working classes, whether containing one or several tenements) outside their district, with the consent of the Local Government Board and of the local authority within which it is proposed to acquire or establish lodging-houses. It is noted, however, in the Report, p. 19 (49), that none of the purely building or housing Companies, except the Artizans' Dwellings' Company, which was exceptionally circumstanced, were able to pay a commercial dividend, although in some cases they had little or no management expenses.

Still we agree with Sir Charles Cameron (Report for 1912, p. 143), that it would be a great boon if the example of the Alexandra Guild were followed by other bodies. If even one model tenement house was established in every parish, much good would be done.

THE AMENDMENT OF THE LAW IN IRELAND AS TO MAINTENANCE OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN.

BY WILLIAM LAWSON, ESQ., LL.D.

[Read May 8th, 1914.]

Difference between the Law in England and Ireland.

The statute law in force in Ireland differs in many respects from that in force in England, and there are many Acts of Parliament, which apply to England only, which might with advantage be extended to Ireland. One of these differences is to be found in the law as to the liability of a father to maintain his illegitimate child. There is no legal obligation upon either the father or mother of an illegitimate child to support it, save such as is given by statute. On the other hand, as its parents owe it no duty, neither does it owe them any, but, while their irresponsibility is not absolute, its freedom from all obligation towards them is unqualified, and it cannot be compelled to contribute to their support. In England the duty of maintaining an illegitimate child, or a bastard (to use the shorter term), until the age of 16, or in the case of a female until she marries, is cast upon the mother by the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834 (4 & 5 Wm. 4, c. 76), s. 71. Failing her, the duty falls upon the guardians of the poor. The father may be compelled by legal proceedings to contribute to its support. These proceedings may be instituted at Petty Sessions by the mother, or, if the child has become chargeable to the parish or union, by the guardians of the poor (see 35 & 36 Vic., c. 65, Bastardy Law Amendment Act, 1872; 36 & 37 Vic., c. 9, Bastardy Law Amendment Act, 1873, referred to later). In Ireland by the Poor Relief Act, 1838 (1 & 2 Vic., c. 56), s. 53, the mother of every bastard child is liable to maintain such child until it attains the age of 15 years; if the child becomes chargeable to the union, the guardians may proceed by Civil Bill against the father to recover the cost of the child's maintenance (26 & 27 Vic., c. 21, Bastardy (Ireland) Act, 1863).

So far back as the year 1873 this question was very ably and exhaustively dealt with by the late Mr. William G.

Brooke in a report on the differences of the law in England and Ireland as regards the Protection of Women, read before this Society on January 21st, 1873 (Journal, Vol. VI., p. 202). This was one of a series of reports on the differences of the law in England and Ireland pursuant to a plan prepared by the indefatigable Honorary Secretary of the Society, Dr. William Neilson Hancock (Journal, Vol. VI., p. 368). These reports led in several cases to an amendment of the law, but not in respect of this particular change, so well advocated by Mr. Brooke.

After pointing out the position of a bastard in the eye of the law, that at common law a father is not liable for the support of his child unless he enters into some express or implied promise to become so, he says:—

“Resting then upon the statutes, the mode in which the liability of a reputed father is enforced differs so materially in England and Ireland, and places the Irish mother at so supreme a disadvantage, that it is necessary to devote to it some little attention. The root of the distinction is traceable to the Irish Poor Law system, which takes the remedy out of the hands of the individual, and provides no remedy except through the medium of its own rather stringent machinery. In point of fact, a woman in Ireland cannot obtain an order for necessary maintenance unless she enters the workhouse; in other words, unless she is reduced to the last extremity of want and distress. The Irish Poor Law Act of 1838 declared that for the purposes of that Act the mother of every bastard child was liable to maintain such child until it attained the age of 15 years. It threw no responsibility whatever on the putative father, and this in the teeth of the prior English Act of 1834 (4 & 5 Wm. 4, c. 76, s. 72), which empowered the Court of Quarter Sessions to make orders on fathers, holding them accountable for the support of their illegitimate children, while such children were maintained by the rates.” Mr. Brooke then points out that it was not till the year 1863 that the Irish Act, to which I have referred, was passed, empowering boards of guardians to recover from the father the cost of maintenance of the child while in the workhouse.

“Under this statute, which is the only one in force in Ireland, an Irish mother has no power to recover maintenance from the father of her illegitimate child. She cannot sue him in her own name. She can put no one in motion on her behalf, unless by entering the workhouse she throws herself for support on public charity, and when she leaves the workhouse the liability of the father to contribute absolutely determines.”

The way in which the Act of 1863 came about is not mentioned by Mr. Brooke, and it is not unimportant, having regard to the object of this paper, but I must first state briefly how the law stood in England prior to and at the time, and the changes in public opinion as manifested in Parliament on the subject. The principle of contribution by the putative or supposed father dates back in England (says Mr. Brooke) to the reign of Elizabeth, when by 18 Eliz., c. 3, two justices were empowered by order to compel the mother and the reputed father of a bastard child to pay a weekly sum for its maintenance. The object of this enactment, as it appears from its words, was two-fold—to punish the father and mother of the bastard, and to relieve the parish from the liability to maintain the child.

By 13 & 14 Car. II., c. 12, s. 19 (a Poor Law Act), after reciting that putative fathers and lewd mothers of bastard children run away out of the parish, and sometimes out of the country, and leave the said bastard children upon the charge of the parish where they are born, although such putative father and mother have estates sufficient to discharge such parish, it was enacted that the churchwardens or overseers of the parish, where any such bastard child should be born, might take and seize so much of the goods and chattels, and receive so much of the annual rents and profits of the land, of such putative father or lewd mother, as should be ordered by two justices for or towards the discharge of the parish, to be confirmed at the Sessions, for the bringing up and providing for such bastard child. Afterwards, an Act of 49 Geo. 3, c. 68, empowered the justices to enforce their maintenance orders on a father or mother at the peril of imprisonment with hard labour for terms not exceeding three months.

These enactments, which sanctioned the principle of joint parental responsibility, remained in force till 1834, when the Poor Law Amendment Act (4 & 5 Wm. 4, c. 76) was passed, and superseded all previous legislation respecting bastards born after the Act became law.

This Act, to put it shortly, exonerated the reputed father from punishment or contribution unless recovered at the suit of the guardians of the poor. It repealed the provisions of the earlier statute, which enabled mothers to obtain filiation orders against putative fathers (s. 69). It enacted that a bastard should follow the settlement of his mother, who should be bound to maintain him as part of her family while she remained unmarried or a widow until the child should attain the age of 16 years (s. 71).

It provided that when any child should thereafter be

born a bastard, and should by reason of the inability of the mother of such child to provide for its maintenance become chargeable to any parish, the overseers of the parish, or the guardians of any union in which such parish is situate, might apply to the next general Quarter Sessions after such child had become chargeable, for an order on the person, whom they shall charge with being the putative father of such child, to reimburse the parish or union for its maintenance, and provided that the Court, after hearing the evidence, if satisfied, after hearing both parties, that the person charged was really and in truth the father of such child, might make such order upon him as appeared to be just and reasonable, but no order was to be made unless the evidence of the mother was corroborated in some material particular by other testimony to the satisfaction of the Court; such order was not to exceed the actual expense incurred or to be incurred for the maintenance and support of such child, and was to last only till the child attained the age of 7 years (s. 72). These powers were in 1839 transferred from Quarter Sessions to Petty Sessions (2 & 3 Vic., c. 84).

This Act of 1834 was not passed until after a long debate in Parliament, the Bill being vigorously opposed in the House of Lords by the Bishop of Exeter and supported by Lord Brougham. (See *Annual Register*, 1834, pp. 226-255, and Molesworth's *History of England*, Vol I., p. 402).

Before this Act a husband was not bound to maintain his wife's children by a former marriage. But by this Act it was provided that every man who should marry a woman having a child or children at the time of such marriage, whether such child or children be legitimate or illegitimate, should be liable to maintain such child or children as part of his family, and should be chargeable with all relief granted to or on account of such child or children until such child or children should respectively attain the age of 16, or until the death of the mother of such child or children (s.57).

Only ten years elapsed when, owing to a change in public opinion, an Act was passed repealing the Act of 1834, and reviving the principle of liability of the father on the application of the mother (7 & 8 Vic., c. 101, s. 2), and repealing the provision enabling the guardians to apply for maintenance orders in the case of children supported out of the rates. It was felt that the machinery of the Act of 1834 was such as to make it very difficult to establish proof of paternity, and that it was unjust that the whole burden of maintaining the child should fall upon the mother or the guardians. (*Annual Register*, 1844, pp. 219-220).

Accordingly, it was provided that any single woman with child, or who might be delivered of a bastard child after the passing of that Act, might apply for a summons against the man alleged by her to be the father, and the justices, if the woman's evidence received corroboration in material particulars, might make an order on the reputed father for a weekly payment to the mother of the child, and in default of payment, might levy distress upon his goods, and, if no distress could be found within their jurisdiction, send him to prison (7 & 8 Vic., c. 101, ss. 2, 3). This enactment was repealed by the Bastardy Law Amendment Act, 1872 (35 & 36 Vic., c. 65), which re-enacted it in wider terms, and under it the father may be ordered to pay a sum not exceeding 5/- a week for every week of the child's life until it attains 13 years of age, a term which the justices have a discretion of enlarging to 16. It also provided if a bastard should become chargeable to the union, and the father was paying to the mother under a bastardy order, the justices might order the money to be paid to an officer of the union instead of the mother.

This same Act of 1872 revived the power of the guardians to obtain an order against the father for payment of such weekly sum as the justices might think proper (35 & 36 Vic., c. 65, s. 8). This section was repealed by 36 & 37 Vic., c. 9, Bastardy Law Amendment Act, 1873, but re-enacted in the same terms by section 5 of that Act.

The history of the Irish Act of 1863 is curious. In 1861 a Select Committee of the House of Commons on the working of the Poor Law in Ireland was appointed, and took evidence, and reported in favour of several changes of the law, some of which were given effect to by the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1862 (25 & 26 Vic., c. 83). Mr. Cardwell was chairman. A mass of evidence was given as to the number of children, in particular illegitimate children, in workhouses. The figures given were astonishing.

Mr. Power, in answer to Lord Naas, said (*Irish Times*, 17/4/61):—"The women who come into the workhouse for confinement are generally the mothers of illegitimate children. The number of these has increased enormously these last four years. In 1856 the number of legitimate children in workhouses was more than three times the number of illegitimates, whereas in 1860 the number of legitimate was much smaller than that of illegitimate. In the half-year ended 29th September, 1855, the number of illegitimate children was 8,326, and of legitimate 25,764; while in the half-year ended 29th September, 1859, the illegitimate were 8,986 and the legitimate 8,591."

Mr. Power recommended that the law in Ireland should be assimilated to that in England, by allowing the mother

to proceed against the putative father for the expense of maintaining the child. He preferred this to giving the guardians power to sue the father.

A clause to that effect was inserted in the draft Report, but an amendment was carried that the guardians should have power to take proceedings against the putative father at Quarter Sessions. In 1862 Sir Robert Peel introduced a Bill to assimilate the law to that in England, but the opposition to it was so great that he withdrew the Bill, and an amendment was inserted in the Poor Law Amendment Bill of that year on the motion of Lord John Browne, who had been a member of the Select Committee, empowering boards of guardians to recover the cost of maintenance of illegitimate children in workhouses under 14 from the father at Quarter Sessions, and this Bill became law (25 & 26 Vic., c. 83). It was suggested that the jurisdiction should be given to Petty Sessions, but it was said that the justices would be for the most part guardians, and, therefore, interested parties.

This Act also gave power to the guardians to board out orphan or deserted children. Owing to a defect in the drafting of this enactment (s. 10) a special Bill dealing with the subject was brought in by Sir R. Peel in 1863, and became law (26 & 27 Vict., c. 21).

REPORT OF VICEREGAL COMMISSION.

This difference in the law is commented on in the Report of the Viceregal Commission on Poor Law Reform in Ireland under the head of *Mothers of Illegitimate Children*. After recommending that mothers of illegitimate children ought not to be inmates of institutions like workhouses, workhouse life tending to debase all unmarried mothers, and that girls after first lapse should be sent to institutions under religious or philanthropic management, the Commissioners say, at page 44 :—"In order to compel fathers to contribute to the support of their children a great many witnesses recommended that the Bastardy Law of Ireland should be assimilated to that of England, and that mothers might accordingly be enabled to take proceedings at law in their own name.

"We do not see any objection to such a change in the law, but we do not like to make any direct recommendation in favour of it, as we feel there may be considerations in opposition to such a proposal, though we are not aware of them. We merely refer to the evidence we have received, and state that, as far as we can see, the object of the witnesses in endeavouring to enforce payment from the father is one that altogether meets with our approval."

The Commissioners say that the cost of maintaining these girls or women and their children in workhouses is very great. There were 2,129 unmarried mothers, and 2,764 (1,454 boys and 1,310) illegitimate and deserted children, that is a total of 4,893, in Irish workhouses at the date of their Report (1905).

I give some extracts from the evidence :—

EVIDENCE IN SUPPORT OF AMENDMENT OF THE LAW.

Rev. J. Paterson-Smyth said.—“It seems a very curious thing that in England in such a case the woman has a remedy against the man; she can get maintenance for the child; here she has no redress except to go into the workhouse, and the guardians must attack the man at a heavy cost, and they generally don't do it.” (520.)

Lord Monteagle, Chairman of the Irish Workhouse Association, was of the same opinion. Mr. William Rodden, of Belfast, Organising Secretary in Ireland for the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, gave valuable evidence as to the need for the assimilation of the English and Irish law. After explaining the procedure in England and Scotland, by which the father can be made to pay for the maintenance of the child, he said—“I mention these points to show that in England and Scotland girls who have been wronged have got the remedy within themselves if they wish to take advantage of it, and I ask the question, why is this remedy denied to Irish girls?” Mr. Rodden went on a deputation to the Chief Secretary on the subject ten years before, and received a sympathetic reply, but it was stated that the proposal would be regarded as a contentious measure, and, therefore, there would be a difficulty in passing it through the House of Commons. From returns made to him by inspectors of the Society, it appeared that in twelve months 119 children born out of wedlock had, so to speak, passed through the hands of the inspectors. In some cases the children were neglected, mostly by the mothers; in some cases the children were at nurse, but poverty was the root of it all; and in no one case was the putative father contributing to the maintenance of the child. He gave as an instance the case of a domestic servant, aged 21, earning £10 a year. She paid £6 10s. od. a year for the nursing of her child, and she had £3 10s. od. with which to clothe herself and the baby. The father of the child was earning 24/- a week, and he refused to contribute one penny. If the English Bastardy Law was extended to Ireland he believed that it would do an immense amount of good, and undoubtedly fewer

cases would go into the workhouse maternity hospital. He then dealt with that subject, and recommended that a home or special institution should be provided for such cases. It will be found that the Commissioners report strongly in favour of this. In 1901 Mr. Rodden read a paper on the subject at the Belfast Poor Law Conference.

Dr. Elizabeth Bell gave evidence as to the good done by the Rescue and Maternity Home in Belfast for the reception of unmarried mothers with their first children ; " first cases," as they are called. The woman pays 5/- a week, or it is paid for her by some lady interested. " We make it a rule," she says, " to write to the alleged father, and usually the paternity is not denied." Mr. William Wallace, a Belfast Poor Law Guardian, supported Mr. Rodden's views. He stated that out of 262 births in the Belfast Maternity Home for the year ended June, 1902, 155 were illegitimate, or 50 per cent. of them born in the workhouse. He suggested, in addition, the establishment of an outside nursery, to which the mother of her first child should be taken, the child and herself, until re-employment could be obtained. Mr. D. MacArthur and Mr. William O'Hare, Poor Law Guardians in Belfast, agreed with Mr. Rodden as to the need for the application of the English Act. So did the Right Honourable Thomas Andrews, who gave evidence for the County Council of Down ; Mr. Charles Eason, of Dublin, who represented the Philanthropic Reform Association ; and Mr. Dinnage, a Guardian of the North Dublin Union. He says—" In England the person who is responsible is generally made to pay. We never can make anyone pay here at all. When girls come to the union, even if they do state the people who should be charged, you cannot prove it, or make these people pay. They should be made pay." Mr. James Murphy, a Poor Law Guardian of the Waterford Union, was in favour of making the law the same as in England ; he thought it would prevent women remaining in the union, and going out and coming in with another child. Miss Rebecca Grubb, of Carrick-on-Suir, was of the same opinion. Mr. Daniel Barlee, Chairman of the Skibbereen Union, said that it was difficult for the guardians to succeed against a father for maintenance, but they had succeeded in some cases, but they had to keep the mother and child in the workhouse. He was in favour of the law being changed, so as to make it easier to penalise the father. Mr. D. L. O'Gorman, Poor Law Guardian, of Fermoy, was in favour of the change. The guardians hesitated to follow up the supposed father, because they generally failed ; it was hard to prove the case. The present state of the law was very hard on the woman.

She could not leave the workhouse without leaving the child, and there were cases where a mother had to remain with her child for three, four, or five years. Mr. P. Meehan, M.P., Chairman of the Council of Queen's County, thought that the law should be altered so as to allow the girl herself to be the prosecutor.

LAW OF OTHER COUNTRIES.

SCOTLAND.

Proof of Paternity.

In Scotland the ordinary jurisdiction of the Courts has been found sufficient for this class of cases; while in England "Bastardy Orders" are obtained under statutory jurisdiction conferred on justices of peace and other courts of summary jurisdiction. In Scotland actions of filiation (or affiliation) and aliment are universally, though not necessarily, brought to the Sheriff's Court. This Court, and Courts of Summary Jurisdiction in England have, by the Summary Jurisdiction Process Act, 1881 (44 & 45 Vic., c. 24), ss. 4, 6, jurisdiction in such matters against persons "within the jurisdiction of the Court" . . . "notwithstanding that such person ordinarily resides, or the child has been born, or the mother of the child ordinarily resides, where the Court is English in Scotland, or where the Court is Scottish in England, in like manner as the Court has jurisdiction in any other case." Provision is made for enforcing this jurisdiction and for citing witnesses in England and Scotland respectively. (Bell's Principles of the Law of Scotland, 10th Ed., s. 2060.) The father and mother are both liable for aliment to the child, and the father, while concealing himself, is a debtor to the mother for his share, and she has all the remedies of a creditor. The debt transmits against the father's representatives. Only what is necessary for subsistence is allowed. The amount allowed against the father as his half varies slightly in different districts. In Glasgow it is £8 per annum. Refusal by father or mother to aliment a bastard, being able to do so, whereby it becomes liable to the parish, is punishable by fine and imprisonment (8 & 9 Vict., c. 83, s. 80).

The mother has the custody until 7 in males, 10 in females; after which, if the father is to assist to maintain the child longer, he may, unless the welfare of the child forbids, make his own arrangements for it. If the child be insane, or otherwise incapable of providing for itself,

the obligation of the parents will continue during life. The father's obligation to aliment lasts in the common case till puberty, with such differences as circumstances fairly justify (*Ib.*, s. 2062).

CIVIL LAW.

By the later Roman Law illegitimate children could claim against their mother, but not their father; natural children, *ex concubina*, had claims on both parents. The canon law first made the father (acknowledged or proved) liable for the aliment of his illegitimate children.

ROMAN AND DUTCH LAW.

The father was obliged to contribute towards the maintenance (alimentation) of his illegitimate child during its minority, or until it had reached an age when it was considered to be able to maintain itself. The action to enforce this duty could be brought by the mother, or, in default of her, by those who acted as guardians to the child on behalf of the child itself, or by the authority of the municipality.

MODERN CONTINENTAL LAW.

LAW OF FRANCE.

New Legislation.

The law amending the well-known Article 340 of the Civil Code, "*La recherche de la paternité est interdite*," was promulgated in the Official Gazette of November 17th, 1911.

This enactment of the French Code Civil, Article 340, is, perhaps, more widely known than any other, and has entered into the language and literature of Europe as a maxim of such varied application that the importance of its special significance for illegitimate children and their parents in France has almost been forgotten. The law which is now promulgated has practically abrogated the famous prohibition.

Article 340 of the Code permitted the responsibility of the father of an illegitimate child to be established only in cases where the mother had been abducted. The new law admits a great variety of other circumstances as warranting the establishment of the father's responsibility. These include abuse of authority and promise of marriage, or of betrothal, where there is sufficient proof in writing. The

action for recognition of paternity lies with the child itself within one year after it has attained its majority. But the mother may bring an action on behalf of the child within two years of its birth, or the action may be brought by the Court which, according to the law of July, 1907, acts in the capacity of the "conseil de famille."

The new law contains precautions against blackmailing and similar abuses, and secures that actions under its provisions shall be tried in camera. It imposes a penalty of from one to five years' imprisonment for actions brought in bad faith, and also subjects the fraudulent plaintiff to a prohibition of residence in the district for not less than five and not more than ten years.

The famous Article 340 was introduced into the Code Napoleon in consequence of the public feeling which had been excited by the scandalous and vexatious actions for establishment of paternity in the last years of the old regime. Under the legislation of the Code the abuses have been on the other side, and a great deal of misery and crime has been attributable to the desperation and the helplessness of young girls left with the sole charge and burden of their illegitimate offspring. The new measure is entirely in the spirit of the social legislation, which now forms a prominent part of the programme of all political parties in France.

Alexandre Dumas, fils, who himself was the illegitimate son of an illegitimate son, raised the question in several of his dramas, and discussed it in his pamphlet "La Recherche de la paternité," published in 1883. He engaged in a controversy on the subject with Brunetiere. (*Times*, Nov. 18, 1911).

LAW OF ITALY, SPAIN, GERMANY, AND SWITZERLAND.

In Italy the obligation exists in the case of natural children on the parents who have recognised them, or whose parentage has been judicially declared. In Spain illegitimate children have a right of aliment only if their paternity or maternity results from a definite judgment, civil or criminal, or from a document of acknowledgment.

In Germany the father of an illegitimate child is bound to supply it with maintenance in accordance with the mother's standard of life (including cost of education and of preparation for a business or profession) up to the age of 16.

Further information as to the law in practice in Germany and Austria will be found in an article in the *English Review* for June, 1912, by C. Smyth Rossie, p. 445. The

writer points out that, though there are differences of local legislation in the German States, they all agree in this:—

1. That the father of an out-of-marriage child—*uneheliches kind*—(I should have translated it “born out of wedlock”) shall not only provide it with aliment, but also that the word “aliment” shall be understood in so wide a sense as to include some sort of training to fit the child to earn its own livelihood in after life. Further, that should the child be mentally or physically so deficient that it is unable to support itself after the age of 16, then the father must support it all his life.

2. That for every such child there shall be a Normund or guardian officially appointed to enforce the laws; that this Normund or guardian shall never be the mother.

In Germany the mother may be guardian, but seldom is. In Austria it is illegal for her to be guardian. The objection is that she might not like to displease the father of the child by putting in force the full laws to protect the child, and as a result the child might be neglected. In Austria the local head of the Voluntary Poor Law Association, known as the *Armenpflege*, is named Normund in the cities. He works by means of the lady members of the society, the *Armenpflegerinns*. The writer goes on to point out that it is the part of the Normund to encourage the legitimisation of the child by the father marrying the mother, and that the percentage of children so legitimised is very high, *e.g.*, at the end of five years from birth of all those living, about two-thirds were legitimised in Dresden, and about one-half in Austria.

If a child has attained that age, and owing to physical or mental defects is incapable of earning a livelihood, the father continues liable for the child's maintenance.

Hungary, Law of.—See *La Droit de l'Enfant Abandonné et Le Systeme Hongrois de Protection de l'Enfant*. Per de Bosnyak and Edelsheim-Gynlai, Buda Pest, 1909.

In Switzerland a new code came into operation on January 1st, 1912. It showed marked leniency to unmarried mothers, and is far more humane in its treatment of illegitimate children, while at the same time more severe on the fathers of illegitimate offspring. As regards the situation of unmarried mothers, it is now ordained that they shall always have the right to require the paternity of their offspring to be fixed within a year of its birth. The father of an illegitimate child can be compelled to contribute to its support a sum fixed in accordance with his social position, and to continue this contribution until the child has reached the age of 18.—(*Times*, January 25th, 1912.)

LAW OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS.

In most of the British Dominions provision has been made by statute on the lines of the English law for the maintenance of illegitimate children by the putative father. There is legislation on this subject in the Dominions, whether their legal systems are based on the common law or on the French and Roman Dutch Law. Reference to particular Statutes will be found in the notes to Burges' *Colonial Law* (1908 edition), Vol. 2, pp. 577-579, to which work I am indebted for this summary of the law. In South Africa the Roman Dutch Law doctrine prevails unaltered. The claim for maintenance is brought by way of summary application to the Court. In Ceylon the Roman Dutch Law rules are left untouched.

CODE OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE (INDIA.)

S. 488 of the Indian Code of Criminal Procedure provides that if any person having sufficient means neglects or refuses to maintain his wife or his legitimate or illegitimate child unable to maintain itself, the magistrate may upon proof of such neglect or refusal, order such person to make a monthly allowance for the maintenance of his wife or such child, at such monthly rate, not exceeding 50 rupees in the whole, as such magistrate thinks fit, and to pay the same to such person as the magistrate from time to time directs.

The order is enforceable by warrant levying the amount due as for levying fines, and by imprisonment in default of payment. The accused may tender himself as a witness and may be proceeded against in any district in which he resides or is, or where he has last resided with his wife, or, as the case may be, the mother of the illegitimate child.

S. 489. The allowance may be altered on proof of change of circumstances, not exceeding 50 rupees in the whole.

S. 490. The order may be enforced by any magistrate in any place where the person against whom it is made may be.

LAW OF QUEBEC.

The Code Civil of Lower Canada expressly declares that illegitimate children can demand maintenance from their father and mother.

CHANNEL ISLANDS.

The custom of Normandy recognised the obligation to furnish aliment for bastards by their fathers. In Jersey there are legal provisions providing for the maintenance of bastards.

LAW OF UNITED STATES.

The duty of parents to contribute to the support of illegitimate children is based entirely upon statute, and under the Bastardy Statutes the father can, generally speaking, be ordered, on proper proof of his paternity, to maintain such children.

CONFLICT OF LAWS.

The father's personal liability has been variously referred to the mother's personal law at the date of conception and of birth, the law of the place where the conception took place, the personal law of the father, and the *lex fori*. There seems some reason (says the editor of Burges, p. 595) for not applying the personal law of any of the parties concerned, between which it is difficult to justify a preference, and for treating the question as one of public order for the Court, and one in which it can apply the *lex fori*. This is the view taken in England, but apparently not in Scotland. By English law there is no obligation of aliment on the father except after his paternity has been established by affiliation proceedings under the statute. To found this liability the child must have been born in England, or in English territory, such as a British ship on the high seas; it is immaterial whether the child was begotten abroad, or whether the father is a foreigner, or whether the mother conceived while domiciled or resident in England, and came back there with the child very soon after its birth. The father must be within the jurisdiction, and a summons cannot be served on him beyond its limits, even under the Summary Jurisdiction Procedure Act of 1881, to which I have already referred. In the United States the principles and procedure of the Bastardy Statutes of the different States vary. In some States the statute is essentially criminal, and designed to punish the father, though the penalty enures to the benefit of the wife and child. In these the action must be brought by the State, and the child must be begotten within the State, and the residence of the mother and child at the time the proceedings is brought is not material. In another group of States a right of action in the name of the people against the father is given to the mother, by imposing on him a legal

duty to support his child. The father must be resident in the State in which the action is brought ; it is immaterial whether the child was begotten or born elsewhere or that the mother had ever resided within the jurisdiction. In some States the right of action is only available to the mother when single ; in others it is immaterial whether she is married or not. A third group of States, though regarding proceedings as civil in their character, take for their immediate purpose the protection of the State against the expense of maintaining illegitimates, and give the right of action to some local body, such as the guardians of the poor, and the mother must be a resident of the State in which the proceedings are taken, but it is immaterial that the child was begotten and born in another State. Even though the proceedings given by the statute be civil and not criminal, the result is considered as imposing a penalty on the father, and not as derived from relationship or status. Accordingly, the remedy granted by a statute in one jurisdiction will not be enforced in any other.

ILLEGITIMACY IN IRELAND.

BIRTHS IN IRELAND, 1912.

The following statement is taken from the Report of the Registrar-General for Ireland, 1912, p. xii. :—

The births registered during the year 1912 numbered 101,035—51,700 boys and 49,335 girls, or 104.8 of the former to every 100 of the latter—the ratio to the estimated population being 1 in 43.4, or 23.0 per 1,000, which is 0.3 below the average rate per 1,000 for the ten years, 1902-1911.

Of the 101,035 births registered in Ireland during the year 1912, 98,188, or 97.2 per cent. were legitimate, and 2,847, or 2.8 per cent., were illegitimate, the latter being 0.2 above the corresponding average percentage for the preceding ten years. These results bear favourable comparison with the returns for most other countries.

The male children born in wedlock amounted to 50,278 and the female to 47,910, or 104.9 of the former to every 100 of the latter ; of the illegitimate children, 1,422 were males, and 1,425 females, being 99.8 boys to 100 girls.

From Table VII., it appears that of the children born in Ulster, 3.8 per cent. were illegitimate; in Leinster, the percentage was 2.9 ; in Munster, 2.3 ; and in Connaught, 0.7.

TABLE VII.—Showing the percentage of LEGITIMATE and of ILLEGITIMATE Births registered in Ireland during the years 1908-1912 by Provinces:—

PROVINCES.	Proportion per cent. of Legitimate Births.					Proportion per cent. of Illegitimate Births.				
	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912
IRELAND	97.5	97.3	97.2	97.2	97.2	2.5	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.8
Leinster	97.4	97.4	97.2	97.1	97.1	2.6	2.6	2.8	2.9	2.9
Munster	97.9	97.5	97.5	97.8	97.7	2.1	2.5	2.5	2.2	2.3
Ulster	96.6	96.4	96.3	96.3	96.2	3.4	3.6	3.7	3.7	3.8
Connaught	99.3	99.3	99.3	99.3	99.3	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7

The proportion per cent. of illegitimate births in Scotland and England is considerably higher than in Ireland; being in Scotland 7.2 in 1910, and in England 4.2 in 1911.

These statistics are open to this observation, that it sometimes happens that illegitimate children are registered as legitimate, the mother stating when she goes into hospital that she is married, and giving a false name and address of herself and her husband. This is entered in the hospital books and a corresponding entry is made in the registrar's book when the birth is registered.

Again, it is, I am informed, the case that most of the mothers of illegitimate children in the South Dublin Union come from the country, being sent away from their homes or places of residence. The children are born in Dublin, and the illegitimacy is put down to it, or to the province of Leinster, whereas the woman may have come from Munster, Ulster, or Connaught.

The poor rate in Dublin is thus unduly burdened with the maintenance of such cases. In England they could be sent back to the place where they resided. The number of illegitimate children (infants under one year) and unmarried mothers in the nursery of the South Dublin Union at present is 28 of each. The number is lower than usual, there have often been as many as 40 of each, but it is stated that those who are insured go out to get the maternity benefit. The number of illegitimate children in the South Dublin Union Hospital during 1913 was 81. There are about 600 children altogether in the Dublin Workhouse School at Pelletstown, in the infirmary, and boarded out, at least one-half of these are illegitimate. The guardians can

only board out orphans or deserted children. The latter are generally those who have been let out on pass without the child and have not returned, thus getting rid of an unwonted burden. A large number of these mothers and children remain in the workhouse for a long time, some few never go out at all until the child is old enough to earn, *i.e.*, 15 years, and then go out and in, forming with the very low class couples, the "ins and outs," whose children make up the number of about 300 all told in the school at Pelletstown.

Mr. Rodden, in the paper to which I have referred, states that he obtained returns from 8 workhouses in Antrim and Down, from which it appeared that £1,193 had been spent in one year in affording relief to unmarried mothers and their children, and that at least 75 per cent. of the unmarried mothers who with their children obtained relief in the Belfast Workhouse during the period stated were either domestic servants, or girls employed in warehouses, mills, and the like. He was of opinion that if the English Bastardy Act was made to apply to Ireland the fact that a girl had within her reach such a remedy as that Act provides would have such a deterrent effect as would make for the moral and social well-being of the country. He informs me that the number of illegitimate children born in the maternity ward of the local workhouse for the past five years was as follows:—1909, 177; 1910, 180; 1911, 215; 1912, 195; 1913, 154, making a total of 921 for the entire period.

POSSIBLE OBJECTIONS.

Sir Robert Peel's Bastardy Bill of 1862 was objected to in the Dublin Press (Post) on the ground that it would give dangerous facilities to profligate and unprincipled persons to bring false accusations under circumstances when it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to disprove the charge by evidence. Lord John Browne, in moving the adoption of a clause to the Poor Law (Ireland) Bill of 1862, enabling the guardians to recover from putative fathers the cost of maintenance of illegitimate children during the time they were in the workhouse, said that in England the prosecution was taken by the woman, but in Ireland he feared that that system would lead to abuse. He added that in Ireland there was not the same regard among the poorer classes for the sanctity of an oath as in England. Mr. Maguire denied that perjury was more rife among the poorer classes in Ireland than among the same classes in England. He supported the clause, considering it was far preferable to a Bastardy Bill. The clause was

carried by III to II, but the same journal which I have mentioned declared that the carrying of the clause was a deplorable state of affairs. The clause was amended in the House of Commons by inserting words providing for corroboration of the evidence of the mother, and extending the operation of the clause to children receiving out-door relief.

Objections such as these will not I think, be urged at the present day. The statement of the law prevailing in other countries shows that it is now recognised (save in Ireland) that it is only just that the father of an illegitimate child should be responsible for its maintenance, and that the mother has to bear the entire burden unless she goes into a workhouse, or is fortunate enough to have relations or benevolent persons to relieve her. Unfounded charges may sometimes be made, but so they may in the case of other legal proceedings: it is to meet such cases that corroboration is required, as in breach of promise, treason, perjury, personation at elections, offences against women and children under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1885, offences under the prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, 1904, under the Children Act, 1908, and under the Motor Car Act, 1903.

The English Bastardy Act provides that an affiliation order cannot be made unless the evidence of the mother is corroborated by other evidence in *some material particular*.

PROPOSED ALTERATIONS OF THE LAW IN ENGLAND.

In England, so far from the law on this subject being considered open to objection, attempts have been made from time to time to consolidate and amend the law. In 1909 a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to report as to the law relating to the making and enforcement of bastardy orders, and to report what, if any, amendments were required in the same. The Committee considered that as there was no procedure in Ireland corresponding to the making and enforcement of orders under the Bastardy Acts in England and Wales, the question of extending those Acts to Ireland was outside the scope of their inquiry, except as regards the proposal to make orders made in English Courts enforceable in Ireland.

They recommended (1) that the justices should have power, (a) on application by the mother, or by the guardians, or by the person maintaining the child, to make a bastardy order, which might be enforced by the mother, or by the guardians, or by the person maintaining the

child, or by the person appointed by the Court to receive payment from the father. They were of opinion that this provision, giving power to any person actually maintaining the child to apply for an order, would tend to secure payment by the male parent, which is sometimes not enforced, or is allowed to lapse in cases where the care of the child passes from one party to another; (b) on application by the mother or guardians after the birth of the child, to reimbursement of expenses incidental to birth, including expenses due to illness or loss of work, within a period not exceeding one month previous to confinement, and to order such payments to be made by instalments; (c) to dispense with the mother's evidence in case of the mother's death or insanity when the paternity is admitted by the father; (d) to vary the weekly sum mentioned in the order within a limit of 10/- and to order that payments made under any order be made to a third person appointed by the Court; (e) to assign the custody of the child to a person other than the mother; (f) to order in suitable cases payment of a lump sum, to be invested upon trust for the benefit of the infant, in place of a weekly payment; (g) in special cases to order the father to contribute for the whole lifetime of a cripple or mentally defective child; (h) with consent of both parties to exclude the public from Court during the hearing of the evidence of women or girls. To order costs against vexatious applicant.

(2) That the period of one month, before which recovery or payment may not be made, be reduced to one week.

(3) Extension to one month of the time during which the father may give notice of appeal to Quarter Sessions and power to Quarter Sessions to modify the decision of the justices as to the amount payable for expenses incidental to birth and confinement.

They recommend that the provisions of the Summary Jurisdiction (Process) Acts of 1881 be extended to Ireland, and that power be given to enforce payment by attaching a portion of a defendant's income, such as wages or payments made periodically to him. These suggested amendments of the law adopted in the main the recommendation of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law (Report, p. 667), and were framed to carry out the objects to be aimed at by a "general and well founded consensus of opinion (1) to secure the adequate care and maintenance of the child until it reaches an age when it may be expected to earn something for itself; and (2) to facilitate the process by which mothers, guardians, and other persons, may recover from the male parent expenses which they have incurred in connection with the birth or maintenance of the child."

In 1912, Mr. King, member for North Somerset, introduced an Illegitimacy and Maternity Bill.

The principal object of this Bill is to substitute for the present Bastardy Laws in England and Wales a statute which should consolidate, simplify and amend them.

The chief amendments in the law proposed by the Bill were as follows ; I quote them accordingly :—

1. Proceedings can in certain cases be taken by the mother of an illegitimate child *previous* to the birth of the child for a “maternity order,” under which the father of her child can be required to contribute towards her support for three months before and four weeks after her delivery.

2. The maximum amount payable towards the maintenance of a child is raised to 10/- a week. In the case of a soldier, payment is to be in accordance with a scale prescribed by the War Office.

3. Sums due under a maternity or an illegitimacy order are payable to the person named in the order ; but if such person so desires, an officer of the Court, or some person nominated by the Court, is to act as receiver.

4. Any orders (including orders made under the existing statutes) can be amended, revoked, or revived ; and the Court can extend an order so as to require the father of a physically deformed or mentally defective illegitimate child, or of an illegitimate child who is a confirmed epileptic or permanently injured, to contribute during the lifetime of the child or any shorter period.

5. The Court can, under certain circumstances, order payment to trustees of a lump sum.

6. Cases can be heard in camera to the extent possible for children cases under the Children Act, 1908 ; and must be heard wholly in camera if both the mother and the defendant so desire.

7. The mother of an illegitimate child is authorised to appoint a guardian of the child in the event of her death.

8. Boards of Guardians are required to make, so far as reasonably practicable, provision in separate wards for unmarried women and girls, not being persons of abandoned character, who are confined for the first time.

9. Marriage is to render legitimate a son or daughter born out of wedlock.

The Bill did not reach a second reading, and met with no better fortune in 1913.

In the present Session, a Bill was brought in by Captain Jessel to amend the law relating to the collection and recovery of moneys due under affiliation orders. The Bill, he said, was one which he introduced last Session, but it did

not then reach the second reading stage. It was also introduced in the House of Lords by Lord Bathurst, and after undergoing amendment at the instance of Lord Strachie, representing the Home Office, it was passed through all its stages in that House. The Bill did not deal with the question of increasing the limit of payment under an affiliation order from 5/- a week. It simply gave effect to two of the recommendations of the Select Committee of 1909. One was that the money should be paid by the father to the mother through the agency of a third person, who should be an officer appointed by the Court which made the order. The House (said Lord Bathurst) would easily see how hard it was for a mother who had obtained an order to approach the father for the weekly payments. The other recommendation was that the period of time which elapsed between the service of a summons and the hearing of the case should be reduced, in view of the fact that frequently the putative father got away, and evaded service altogether. The Bill required that, instead of "at least six days," the interval should be "a reasonable time." It was some forty years since any alteration was made in the Bastardy Laws, and as they stood they were very defective. The Bill has been read a second time.†

PROPOSED LEGISLATION FOR IRELAND.

In the autumn of 1911, at the instance of a Committee of Belfast ladies, a Bill was prepared for introduction in the House of Commons to make the provisions of the English Bastardy Acts of 1872 and 1873 apply to Ireland. I have set out this Bill at the end of this paper. The only amendment it proposed to make in the law was to give a right of appeal to Quarter Sessions by either party, and to empower that Court to increase the amount directed to be paid. As the law stands the right of appeal is only given to the alleged father, not to the applicant, and there is no power to increase the amount on appeal. Mr. King's Bill proposed to do the same.

Section 2 provides for the summoning of the alleged father before a Court of Summary Jurisdiction on the application of any single woman who may be with child or who may be delivered of a bastard child after the passing of the Act. If the application is made before birth, the woman must make a deposition on oath stating who the father of the child is.

Section 3 enables the Court to make an order on the alleged father to pay a sum not exceeding 5/- a week for the maintenance and education of the child, and of expenses incidental to the birth of the child, and of the

† And passed on July 31, 1914. Affiliation orders Act, 1914 (4 and 5 Geo. 5, c. 6.) It also provides for attachment of pension or income, and for payment to person having custody of child.

funeral expenses, if it had died before the making of the order. Section 4 provides for the enforcement of the order by distress and commitment. Section 5 provides that the order is not to be in force after the child attains 13 years of age (or 16 years of age if it is so directed in the order). Section 6 provides for proof of the summons. Section 7 provides that payments ordered to be made on the application of the mother may be made to the Guardians of the Union, if the child becomes chargeable to it. Section 8 enables the Guardians of a Union to which a bastard child becomes chargeable to apply to the Court of Summary Jurisdiction for an order on the alleged father to pay a weekly sum towards the relief of the child while it remains chargeable to the union. Section 9 gives the right of appeal to either party, which I have already mentioned. Section 10 provides for the making of forms by the Lord Chancellor. The authority to make forms should, I think, be the Local Government Board, as in England.

Much good would be done if the guardians were authorised to proceed summarily (as proposed by s. 8). The present procedure by Civil Bill at Quarter Sessions under the Act of 1862 is dilatory and cumbrous. The woman has to make an affidavit in a form prescribed by the Act before a Justice in Petty Sessions, or in Dublin before a Divisional Magistrate, and a copy of this affidavit has to be served along with the Civil Bill on the defendant.

A considerable time may elapse (one or two months) before the Civil Bill can be heard by the County Court Judge, and in the meantime the defendant may have left the country. Again, even if a decree is obtained, it may be impossible to enforce it. Proceedings have been taken from time to time by Guardians in Dublin before the Recorder, but with indifferent success. In the case of a soldier, the Army Act, 1881, s. 145, provides that a deduction may be made from his pay to satisfy an order for payment by him of the cost of maintenance of a bastard child.

This has often proved an efficient remedy.

But the remedy given to the Guardians only meets the case of a mother and child in the workhouse, and leaves unprovided for the case of a woman who would not enter a workhouse unless in dire necessity. In England the law says firmly, reputed fathers must contribute to the support of their illegitimate children; they may be sued by the mother, and ordered to pay her money directly, and without the intervention of third parties. In Ireland, reputed fathers are only liable at the suit of Guardians, and in respect of destitute and pauper children. Why should the father in Ireland go scot free, and the father in England and other countries be liable to maintain his child?

APPENDIX.

Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same as follows :—

1.—This Act may be cited as “ The Bastardy Law (Ireland) Act, 1911.”

35 & 36 V. c.
65 (E.), s. 3,
which was
substituted
for 7 & 8 Vic.
c. 101, s. 3.

Putative
father to be
summoned to
Petty
Sessions on
application
of mother of
bastard child.

2.—Any single woman who may be with child, or who may be delivered of a bastard child after the passing of this Act, may either before the birth or at any time within twelve months from the birth of such child, or at any time thereafter upon proof that the man alleged to be the father of the child, has within the twelve months next after the birth of such child paid money for its maintenance, or at any time within the twelve months next after the return to *Ireland* of the man alleged to be the father of such child upon proof that he ceased to reside in *Ireland* within the twelve months next after the birth of such child, make application to any one Justice of the Peace having jurisdiction in the place where she may reside, or to any *Divisional Police Magistrate in the Police district of Dublin Metropolis (when she resides in such police district)* for a summons to be served on the man alleged by her to be the father of the child, and if such application be made before the birth of the child, the woman shall make a deposition upon oath stating who is the father of such child, and such Justice of the Peace or Divisional Police Magistrate shall thereupon issue his summons to the person alleged to be the father of such child to appear at a *Court of Summary Jurisdiction* to be holden for the Petty Sessional Division, City, Borough, or *Police district* in which such woman resides.

Ib., s. 4.

Justices in
Petty
Sessions may
make an
order on
putative
father for
maintenance
and educa-
tion of
bastard child

3.—On the appearance of the person so summoned, or on proof that the summons was duly served on such person, or left at his last place of abode, the *Court* shall hear the evidence of such woman and such other evidence as she may produce, and shall also hear any evidence tendered by or on behalf of the person alleged to be the father, and if the evidence of the mother be corroborated in some material particular by other evidence to the satisfaction of the *Court*, the *Court* may adjudge the man to be the putative father of such bastard child, and may also, if it sees fit, having regard to all the circumstances of the case, proceed to make an order in the prescribed form on the putative father for the payment to the mother of the bastard child, or to any person who may have the lawful custody of such child, of a sum of money weekly, not exceeding five shillings a week, for the maintenance and education of the child, and of the expenses incidental to the birth of such child, and of the funeral expenses of the child, provided it has died before the making of such order, and of such costs as may have been incurred in the obtaining of such order, and if the application be made before the birth of the child, or within two calendar months after the birth of the child, such weekly sum may, if the *Court* thinks fit, be calculated from the birth of the child.

Ibid., s. 4—
con.—and en-
force the
same by
distress and
commitment.

4.—If at any time after the expiration of one calendar month from the making of such order as aforesaid, it be made to appear to any one Justice (*including a Divisional Police Magistrate*) upon oath or affirmation that any sum to be paid in pursuance of such order has not been paid, such Justice may, by warrant in writing in the prescribed form, cause such putative father to be brought before a *Court of summary jurisdiction*, and in case such putative father

neglect or refuse to make payment of the sums due from him under such order, or since any commitment for disobedience to such order as hereinafter provided, together with the costs attending such warrant, apprehension and bringing up of such putative father, such *Court*, by warrant in writing in the prescribed form, may direct the sum so appearing to be due together with such costs, to be recovered by distress and sale of the goods and chattels of such putative father, and may order such putative father to be detained and kept in safe custody until return can be conveniently made to such warrant of distress, unless he give sufficient security by way of recognizance or otherwise to the satisfaction of such *Court* for his appearance before the said *Court* on the day which may be appointed for the return of such warrant of distress, such day not being more than seven days from the time of taking any such security: but if upon the return of such warrant, or if by the admission of such putative father, it appear that no sufficient distress can be had, then any such *Court* may, if it sees fit, by warrant in writing in the prescribed form, cause such putative father to be imprisoned for any term not exceeding three calendar months, unless such sum and costs be sooner paid and satisfied.

5.—No order for contribution towards the relief of any such child made in pursuance of this Act shall, except for the purpose of recovering money previously due under such order, be of any force or validity after the child, in respect of whom it was made, has attained the age of thirteen years, or after the death of such child, provided that the *Court* may in the order direct that the payments to be made under it in respect of the child shall continue until the child attains the age of sixteen years, in which case such order shall be in force until that period.

6.—In cases where the putative father of any bastard child resides out of the Petty Sessional or *Police* district where the application is to be heard, it shall be lawful to prove by affidavit in the prescribed form that such summons or order has been duly served. Any affidavit purporting to be made and attested in the prescribed form shall be received in evidence, and shall be deemed to be duly made and attested until the contrary be shown.

7.—When and so often as any bastard child, for whose maintenance an order has been made by a *Court of summary jurisdiction* on the application of the mother, shall become chargeable to any *Poor Law Union*, any *Court of summary jurisdiction* having jurisdiction in such Union may, if it shall see fit, by order in writing in the prescribed form from time to time, appoint some relieving or other officer of the Union to which such bastard child shall be so chargeable, to receive on account of the *Guardians* of such Union such proportion of the payments then due or becoming due under the said order as may accrue during the period for which such child is chargeable, and such appointment shall remain in force for the period of one whole year whenever the bastard child shall be or have become chargeable as aforesaid, and may afterwards from time to time be renewed by indorsement under the hand of any one Justice for the like period: and any payment so ordered to be made shall be recoverable by the relieving officer or other officer appointed to receive it in the manner provided for the recovery of payments under an order obtained by the mother.

Ibid., s. 5.

Time of
cessation
of order.

36 & 37 Vict.
c. 9, s. 4
substituted
for 35 & 36
Vict. c. 9,
s. 4.

Proof of
service of
summons in
certain cases.

35 & 36 Vict.
c. 65.

Ib. s. 7.

Payments
ordered for
bastard
children may
be made to
Guardians
of Union if
child becomes
chargeable to
Union.

36 & 37 Vict.
c. 9, s. 5.
Substituted
for 35 & 36
Vict., c. 65,
s. 8.

Guardians
may recover
costs of relief
of bastard
child in
certain cases.
26 & 27 V. c.
21 (I.), by
which
Guardians in
Ireland can
proceed by
Civil Bill.

8.—When a bastard child becomes chargeable to a *Poor Law Union*, the Guardians may apply to a *Court of summary jurisdiction* having jurisdiction in the Union, and thereupon such *Court* may summon the man alleged to be the father of the child to appear before any *Court* having the like jurisdiction, to show cause why an order should not be made upon him to contribute towards the relief of the child, and upon his appearance, or in the event of him not appearing, upon proof of due service of the summons upon him such *Court* may, if satisfied that he is the father of the child upon such evidence as is by this Act required in the case of a summons issued upon the application of the mother, make an order upon such putative father to pay to the Guardians, or one of their officers, such sum, weekly or otherwise, towards the relief of the child during such time as the child shall continue or afterwards be chargeable as shall appear to them to be proper: and such order shall, if the payments required by it to be made be in arrear, be enforced in the manner provided for the recovery of payments under an order obtained by the mother. Provided as follows:

- (1). That no payments shall be recoverable under such order except in respect of the time during which the child is actually in receipt of relief.
- (2). That an order under this section shall not be made, and if made shall cease (except for the recovery of arrears) when the mother of the child has obtained an order under this Act.
- (3). That nothing in this section shall be deemed to relieve the mother of a bastard child from her liability to maintain such child.
- (4). That any person upon whom an order is made under this section shall have the same right of appeal against such order as in the case of an order obtained on the application of the mother.
- (5). That if, after an order has been made under this section, the mother shall apply for an order under this Act, the order made under this section shall be *prima facie* evidence that the man upon whom the order is made is the father of the child.

35 & 36 Vict.
c. 65, s. 9.
Appeals.

9.—The Court of Quarter Sessions, on appeal to them in the *prescribed form (by either party)* against any order made pursuant to the provisions of this Act, may, if they think fit, reduce (*or increase*) the amount directed to be paid for the maintenance and education or on account of the relief of the child named in such order, and they shall thereupon alter the order accordingly.

36 & 37 Vict.
c. 9, s. 6,
which gives
power to
Local Govern-
ment Board
to issue forms.

10.—The *Lord Chancellor* shall prescribe such Forms as may be necessary for carrying this Act into effect.

11.—This Act shall come into operation on the day of 191 , and shall apply only to Ireland.

THE INCIDENCE OF EMIGRATION ON TOWN AND COUNTRY LIFE IN IRELAND.

BY PROFESSOR C. H. OLDHAM.

[Read Friday, June 12, 1914.]

To the student of economics Ireland always presents a budget of paradoxes. Things which are abnormal elsewhere are here normal and commonplace. The usual laws of cause and effect may, by an act of faith, be presumed to operate; but they elude recognition with a whimsical contrariety so that the wisest of us only differ from the "man in the street" in being less cocksure that we know all about it. I know no reason for this paradoxical aspect of Irish life except that Ireland is a country where the population has been shrinking continuously for above sixty years. The rules that we habitually apply to interpret the significance of economic facts in other countries require readjustment when we come to apply them to Ireland because of this unique circumstance. Lest we forget to bear in mind what everybody knows, I begin by setting down the familiar figures showing the movement of the population in the different parts of the United Kingdom, namely:

<i>Year.</i>	<i>England and Wales.</i>	<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>Ireland.</i>
1801	8,892,536	1,608,420	5,299,000
1841	15,914,148	2,620,184	8,175,124
1881	25,974,439	3,735,573	5,174,936
1911	36,070,492	4,760,904	4,390,219

The percentage of the decline of Ireland's population in each succeeding decennium since 1841 has been 19.8, 11.5, 6.7, 4.4, 9.1, 5.2, and 1.5 per cent. respectively. There are some signs that the limit of decline has been reached, and that economic conditions in Ireland may become normal in the near future. Thus, in the decade from 1901 to 1911, the number of families rose from 910,256 to 910,748; and the inhabited houses also rose from 858,158 to 861,879. In the year 1908-9 the population of Ireland was estimated to have risen by 1,937; and again, in the year 1911-12, to have risen by 1,102: the first instances of the kind since the solitary case of the year 1876-7, when the population was estimated to have risen by 8,836.

But there are heavy clouds still darkening the Irish prospect. On the one hand, the flight of women seems to prove that conditions are peculiarly bad for that sex in Ireland. During the whole period from May 1st, 1851, to December 31st, 1913, for which the numbers of emigrants, natives of Ireland, have been recorded, we find a total emigration of 2,224,089 Men and 2,054,238 Women. Taking the counties of Ireland separately, we find only eight counties from which women have emigrated in larger numbers than men, viz.:—Louth, in Leinster; Kerry and Clare, in Munster; and all five counties in Connaught. The fact that Ulster contributes no county to this "black list" seems easily explainable if we think of the special employments open to women in the linen industry and the shirt and collar industry of this Northern Province. Yet it is really startling to find that every Province of "Old" Ireland except Ulster, has come to resemble the Colonies and other "New" Countries in the fact that the Male Sex is now preponderating, viz.:—

POPULATION ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF 1911.

	<i>Leinster.</i>	<i>Munster.</i>	<i>Connaught.</i>	<i>Ulster.</i>
Males,	582,967	526,130	312,089	770,862
Females,	579,077	509,365	298,895	810,834

This matter may be put in another way, by stating the *Population of Adults* (aged 20 years and upwards) in Ireland at each succeeding Census since 1881, viz.:—

	<i>Male Adults.</i>	<i>Female Adults.</i>	<i>Total Adults.</i>
1881	1,337,516	1,464,374	2,801,890
1891	1,264,973	1,360,802	2,625,775
1901	1,277,548	1,355,238	2,632,786
1911	1,316,898	1,349,673	2,666,571

It is certainly remarkable that for the last thirty years, when we supposed the Population of Ireland to have been declining, the Population of Adults (shown in the last column) has been slowly enlarging! But the sinister feature of this table is the contrast between the movement of the sexes as indicated in the two central columns. In other countries women find a very large amount of employment in agriculture; but statistics show that the number of women employed in agriculture in Ireland is not 1 to 12 of the men—they do not even milk the cows, and the harvesting is done by machines handled by men. Are there any women appointed to the Boards and the Council

which exist to advise the Department of Agriculture in Ireland? This lack of employment for women in Ireland is part of a wider phenomenon, viz.—*the deterioration in the economic character of employment in Ireland*, one result of which is that men look for a livelihood in doing women's work. Now this matter needs some illustration from that part of the Census Reports that is called "Occupations of the People," which everybody knows is the least satisfactory and least reliable part of the Census as taken in the United Kingdom. Of course, when "employment" is what we look for, we had better consider only the *Adult Population*, aged 20 years and upwards. In the following Table, based on the usual Six Classes of Occupations, I have reduced the whole Adult Population to the figure of 1,000 in each year, so that what this Table shows is *the Relative Changes of Occupations of Adults in Ireland*, viz.:—

	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
I. Professional	39.7	42.2	40.9	46.2
II. Domestic	121.2	70.9	64.4	49.9
III. Commercial	21.7	25.4	30.4	34.8
IV. Agricultural	300.4	302.7	291.8	263.8
V. Industrial	198.3	198.1	197.9	189.2
VI. Indefinite	318.7	360.7	374.6	416.1
Total Adults	1000	1000	1000	1000

One must lean gently where the wood is rotten, and this Table must not be pressed into too close detail; for some of the particular fluctuations are caused by difference of classification in the Census Office (*e.g.*, Trained Nurses, treated as "Domestic" in 1901, were ranked as "Professional" in 1911, etc.). But the broad results of the Table are unmistakable, and are very remarkable. Since 1881, what has happened in Ireland? Well, there has been a lot of new money spent on "education" (of a sort); that has probably increased the Professional and Commercial Classes, and it has certainly fitted many people to obtain employment out of Ireland. Then the Land Act of 1881 gave security of tenure to the Irish farmer; since when enormous Government activity and expenditure have gone to Land Purchase, to Labourers' Cottages, to the Congested Districts Board, to the Department of Agriculture, to the development of Local Government work, etc.; and the Agricultural Co-operative Movement has also given a new life to Rural Ireland. What has all this prodigious effort to aid the Irish farmer come to? This Table discloses no results: we see only Agricultural employment withering away, and Domestic employment vanishing still

faster, and the Indefinite Unoccupied Class gathering all the wreckage into its ever-growing total. Remember, we are talking only of Adult Persons, aged 20 years and upwards. Is there no satisfactory feature anywhere in this *kaleidoscope* of Employment for Adults in Ireland? Yes, there is: if the figures for the Industrial and Commercial Classes be added together, we obtain the following totals for each Census, viz.:—220.0, 223.5, 228.3, and 224.0 respectively. The Industry and Commerce of Ireland has held its ground all the time as the one solid, sound, and secure basis for the employment of Adults in Ireland. The Town Population of Ireland has held its place, the Rural Population has shrivelled and decayed! If these Census figures are worth anything, that is what they mean.

As this matter of the change in the character of the employment for Adults in Ireland is so important, I may be allowed to repeat the same Table in another form, giving the actual number of persons in each Class of Occupation at each Census. But I have separated the sexes, thereby obtaining two Tables, as follows:—

Numbers of Adult Men in Occupations.

	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
I. Professional	91,382	85,503	80,611	89,430
II. Domestic	26,072	27,216	21,547	21,887
III. Commercial	59,663	65,400	76,674	85,760
IV. Agricultural	757,112	701,450	686,461	645,382
V. Industrial	355,877	333,621	344,380	378,286
VI. Indefinite	47,410	51,783	67,875	96,153
Total Men Adults,	1,337,516	1,264,973	1,277,548	1,316,898

Numbers of Adult Women in Occupations.

	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
I. Professional	20,021	25,293	27,114	33,959
II. Domestic	313,364	158,996	148,243	111,333
III. Commercial	1,109	1,543	3,576	7,150
IV. Agricultural	84,656	83,614	81,886	58,138
V. Industrial	199,585	186,555	176,764	134,161
VI. Indefinite	845,639	904,801	917,655	1,004,932
Total Women Adults	1,464,374	1,360,802	1,355,238	1,349,673

I will now consider the causes of the decline in our population. Viewed statistically, the decline occurs because the "natural increase," or the excess of Births over

Deaths, is too small to fill the gap caused by Emigration. Thus, during the ten years 1901-11, 1,023,211 births and 764,811 deaths left a natural increase of 258,400 persons; but emigration removed 345,159 persons of Irish birth during the same period. Stating the same thing in a form that allows comparison with other countries, an average annual birth-rate of 23.1 per 1,000 and death-rate of 17.3 per 1,000 yielded a natural increase of only 5.8 per 1,000; meanwhile the average annual emigration was at the rate of 7.7 per 1,000 of the population. We find, therefore, that three causes are contributing to the decline of Irish population:—(1) The birth-rate in Ireland is extraordinarily low, the lowest in Europe excepting France; (2) the death-rate in Ireland is rather too high for a population that is so largely rural; and (3) the emigration from Ireland, though much diminished for the last twenty years, is still somewhat larger than is economically desirable.

In the following table Ireland is compared with other European countries, in order to show that the excess of births over deaths is unusually low in Ireland. The figures are taken first for the year 1910; and then for a date twenty years ago, viz., 1893. As regards France, it should be noted that that country has practically no emigration to meet.

Rate per 1,000 for Births and Deaths.

	1910		Natural Increase	1893.	
	Births.	Deaths.		Births.	Deaths
Ireland,	23.3	17.1	6.2	23.0	18.0
England,	25.1	13.5	11.6	30.7	19.2
Scotland,	29.6	15.3	14.3	30.8	19.3
Norway,	26.1	13.5	12.6	30.7	16.3
Denmark,	27.5	12.9	14.6	30.6	18.9
Switzerland,	25.0	15.0	10.0	27.9	20.1
Portugal,	30.7	19.4	11.3	31.8	21.6
Sweden,	24.7	14.0	10.7	27.4	16.8
Netherlands,	28.6	13.6	15.0	33.8	19.2
Belgium,	23.7	15.8	7.9	29.5	20.3
Spain,	33.1	23.3	9.8	36.1	30.3
Italy,	32.9	19.6	13.3	36.5	25.2
Germany,	31.0	16.2	14.8	36.7	24.6
France,	19.6	17.8	1.8	22.7	22.5

Next follows a table showing the Emigration from such European countries as keep a record. The number of emigrants given is the average of the three years 1909, 1910, and 1911. The population figure is that for the date stated in the table. It should be remembered that the inhabitants of one country (say, Belgium, or Germany) often

go to swell the emigration through the sea-ports of another country (say, the Netherlands). Thus, the real emigration from Germany is unknown. Many people, finding in the *Statistical Abstract* that its great population (65 millions in 1910) is credited with only 24,381 emigrants, have concluded that there is very little emigration from Germany. But more than 24,381 Germans entered the United States alone; not to speak of the movement of Germans into South America, and into neighbouring countries in Europe. The figure 24,381 is only the oversea emigration of native-born Germans *from German sea-ports*. But for my present comparison with Ireland, these figures will serve; and anyone can lump together the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, and Switzerland figures into a single unit if they please. The Irish figure includes those native-born Irish who migrated to Great Britain (because they leave Ireland); but the United Kingdom figure includes only natives who leave the United Kingdom for other places abroad.

Emigration from Some European Countries.

	Population.	Emigrants.*	Per 1,000
Ireland (1911),	4,390,219	30,295	6.9
United Kingdom (1911),	45,221,615	254,666†	5.6
Norway (1910),	2,391,782	15,847	6.6
Denmark (1911),	2,757,076	7,992	2.9
Switzerland (1910),	3,753,293	5,202	1.4
Portugal (1900),	5,016,267	39,357	7.8
Sweden (1910),	5,522,403	20,103	3.6
Netherlands (1909),	5,858,175	52,785	9.0
Belgium (1910),	7,423,784	24,608	3.3
Spain (1910),	19,588,688	170,015	8.7
Italy (1911),	34,687,000	603,652	17.1

This comparison proves, I think, that there is nothing alarming about Irish emigration at its present rate, considering mere numbers. What is causing the decline of Irish population is the low birth-rate; and this arises in Ireland from two facts, viz., the marriages are fewer in number, and they take place at a much later age than in any other country in the world. The truth is that young people in the rural parts of Ireland are all intending emigrants, they never think of marrying so long as they still hope to be able to emigrate. Of men and women aged 20 years and upwards, in Ireland only 44.8 per cent. are married. Of the women of Ireland in 1911, aged between 15 and 45 years of age, who might be child-bearing, *only*

* Average of years 1909, 1910, and 1911.

† Emigrants (440,012) less Immigrants (185,346) = 254,666.

one in three (34.4 per 100) *were married!* Yet illegitimate births are only 2.7 per cent. of the total births. And the number of persons to the family, viz., 4.7, is a rather higher average in Ireland than in Great Britain. To stop the decline of population in Ireland the thing now most required is to find employment at home for the unmarried women of Ireland; they find too few openings for useful happy careers under the present conditions in Modern Ireland. Speaking particularly of agriculture as an occupation for women in Ireland, I cannot accept the Census figure for 1911—that of an Agricultural Class numbering 703,520 persons (adults, aged 20 years and upwards), *only 58,138 are Women!* There are considerable districts in the West of Ireland where practically the whole of the agricultural work is now being done by women; the men are migratory workers, who work on farms in Great Britain in the summer, and often return there to work at mining occupations in the winter. But these women agricultural workers are probably included among the 1,104,032 adult women who appear in the Irish Census as the “Indefinite,” or Unoccupied Class.

Professor Richmond Mayo-Smith and other American economists, who are well able to form an unbiassed opinion as they compare the immigration into the United States from the various countries of Europe, have long ago picked out three respects in which the emigration from Ireland is singular and remarkable:—(1) its great dimensions, relative to the home population at its source; (2) the large proportion of female emigrants, who in recent years have outnumbered the males; and (3) the small proportion of children among the emigrants—a fact indicating that it is an emigration of individuals, rather than of families. Now to these three features of Irish Emigration I may add two others, viz.:—(4) It is drawn chiefly from the rural population; the civic population of Ireland is increasing; and (5) it rises and falls according as times are good or bad in the United States; the volume of Irish emigration seems to be little affected at present by changes of prosperity in Ireland itself. [I have a slide to show, which will pretty well demonstrate this last point.]

I need not say anything more about points (1) and (2). To-day Irish emigration can hardly be called excessive; 30,000 emigrants in a population of 4,380,000 means a rate of only 6.8 per 1,000 inhabitants. If Ireland had something like a normal rate of “natural increase,” say, 10 or 12 per 1,000, the gap caused by the present rate of emigration would pass unnoticed. What is serious is the quality not the quantity of the drain. An emigration by individuals is very much more injurious to a country than an

emigration by families. As the Registrar-General for Ireland put it to me on a recent occasion, when a family emigrates all that happens is that one economic unit disappears from the country, but another takes its place which is probably just as efficient. But when individuals emigrate, the family unit still remains, only it remains in a form weakened by the absence of one of its most vigorous parts. The economic units are unchanged, but each is depleted and its efficiency reduced. Thus there has been in Ireland a perpetuated survival of the unfittest, a steady debasement of the human currency—very similar to Gresham's Law, by which bad money continually tends to displace good money in the circulation.

It was an Address given to this Society by our late President, Rev. T. A. Finlay, S.J., at the commencement of his second year of office, that first drew my attention to the interesting fact that in Ireland "the towns as a whole show an increase in population, while the rural areas are being steadily depleted."† Taking the usual rule by which towns of 2,000 inhabitants and upwards are described as "Civic Areas," the surrounding country districts as "Rural Areas," Father Finlay gave us the following figures, viz. :—"In 1881 the population of the Civic Areas stood at 1,224,919; in 1891, at 1,244,113; in 1901, at 1,425,818; and in 1911, at 1,507,570." It is not stated from what source he derived these figures, but the context seems to imply that they were drawn from the Census Reports. Now, I have myself gone to these Census Reports, and I have found that Father Finlay's figures are not quite accurate. To be sure, his general conclusion is not affected in the least, for the accurate figures equally well support Father Finlay's argument. But it is just as well to set down here the correct figures, as given in the General Report for each Census. Taking the "Civic" population to mean all those living in towns with 2,000 or more inhabitants, and the "Rural" population to mean all the rest, then the whole population of Ireland for sixty years back, has varied in distribution as follows, viz. :—

<i>Census.</i>	<i>Civic.</i>	<i>Rural.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
1861	1,140,368	4,658,599	5,798,967
1871	1,202,844	4,211,033	5,413,877
1881	1,245,503	3,929,333	5,174,836
1891	1,244,113	3,460,637	4,704,750
1901	1,384,929	3,073,846	4,458,775
1911	1,470,595	2,919,624	4,390,219

This table shows that in fifty years the "Town" has grown by 330,227 persons (29 per cent.), while the

† Journal, Vol. 13, p. 17.

"Country" has been losing 1,738,975 inhabitants (37 per cent.), the net fall for all Ireland being 1,408,748 persons (24 per cent.). This change in the distribution of the inhabitants may be more simply stated by reducing the whole population to 100. Thus, fifty years ago, 19.7 persons lived in the "Town," and 80.3 persons lived in the "Country"; to-day 33.5 persons live in "Town," and 66.5 persons in the "Country."

People are accustomed to regard Ireland as an agricultural country, with comparatively few industries; we are always being told that the emigration cannot be stopped unless we can develop industries in Ireland to provide employment for the people at home. Meseems, that these sort of people know not what they are saying. The direct contrary seems to me to be nearer the actual facts: Ireland is a country with industries that are remarkable and successful, and an agriculture that is the most wasteful and ridiculous in the world. The emigration cannot be stopped unless we can develop agriculture in Ireland to provide employment for the people in the rural districts. Is this another of the paradoxes of Ireland? Some years ago I examined the figures of Irish Exports for the purpose of picking out the dozen largest items, *i.e.*, the principal articles which Ireland produced for sale to the world. I then found that eight out of the thirteen largest items (measured in sterling value) were the products of capitalised industries. Since then the *Census of Production* has been taken for the whole of the United Kingdom. Now, I confess I have never been able to get at the meaning of the figures issued in the Final Report of this Census of Production. I see that the Gross Output of the Industries of Ireland was put at a Selling Value of £66,777,000; there is occupation provided in completing that amount of Sales. But then, I see that the cost of Materials Used was £43,090,000; which when deducted left about £23,000,000 as the value of the Net Output. But I presume there is occupation provided in procuring all that £43,090,000 worth of Materials Used. On the other hand, the Agricultural Report for the same Census of Production put the value of the Agricultural Produce of Ireland at £45,574,000, arrived at by a process of calculation not very satisfying to my own mind. Consequently, I cannot reach any precise figures from the Census of Production. But here we are with Two Irelands: a Town population, of something less than 1,500,000 persons who do not depend on the land except very indirectly, and a Country population of something less than 3,000,000 persons who do not depend for their market on the Irish Town nearly so much as on export. My own belief is that this Town population produces as much wealth

by independent industries as the Country population, although twice as numerous, produces by the use of the land. To speak of agriculture, then, as the staple industry of Ireland is to ignore these Townsmen who (in my judgment) produce probably one-half of the wealth of the country.

When the historian of Ireland comes to the task of interpreting the causes of the great emigration movement which now seems to be drawing near its end, it will be his duty to consider whether, or how far, it was the Agriculture or the Industry of the country that failed to provide the Irish people with the means of livelihood in their own land. I will conclude with a brief retrospect of the salient facts which must govern the two sides of this great argument. Behind the dismal figures of emigration there is a story of economic transformation proceeding in Ireland alike for Town and Country. The difference is that the industrial transformation happened long ago, and Ireland has long since adjusted itself to the change; but the agricultural transformation is still in progress and development under the changed conditions has yet to come.

During the nineteenth century the economy of Ireland was subjected to two disturbing influences which have changed the whole basis of economic life, for both Town and Country, with revolutionary completeness. The one was Free Trade, which began in the year 1824, the other was the introduction of railways and the cheapening of ocean carriage. The year 1824 is the turning-point in the industrial history of Ireland. The post-Union protective duties (amounting to about 10 per cent. *ad valorem*) then ceased, and Huskisson's Act (4 Geo. IV., c. 72) established Free Trade between Great Britain and Ireland. In 1824, also, a common system of weights and measures for both countries was adopted. More important still, in 1824, regular cross-Channel steam navigation began: for the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company, between Dublin and Liverpool, and the G. and J. Burns Line of Steamers, between Belfast and Glasgow, both date from that year. About this same time, in 1828, the application of machinery to the wet-spinning of flax led to the modern linen factory, and (by a local circumstance enabling the obtaining of long building leases there) to the concentration in and around Belfast of an industry previously spread widely through the homes of the Irish peasantry, especially in Connaught. Thus, since 1824, industrial Ireland has undergone an astonishing transformation. Along with the decay of the industries of the countryside, there went forward a prodigious stimulus to the commerce of Ireland, and to the building up of a new

growth of industries on a scale far larger than the capacity of the local market for consumption. From the year 1824 we must date the growth (1) of the modern linen trade; (2) the Irish porter and whisky exports; (3) the large live-stock industry, which displaced the old-time Irish trade in salted meats; and (4) a great Irish grain trade to Great Britain (a preferential market until 1845), which reached its greatest development in 1838, but only began to fall away rapidly after 1861, with the new advent of the American prairie produce. The foundation of Belfast shipbuilding dates from the arrival there at Christmas, 1854, of Edward James Harland, then aged 23 years, who in 1859 founded the firm of Harland and Wolff. The modern factory Woollen Industry of Ireland is also to be dated from the fifties.

Irish Agriculture during the nineteenth century has had to face two revolutionary changes. During the Napoleonic Wars, when England was isolated, the agriculture of Ireland was developed on a tillage basis, with a large export trade in grain. This tillage system became precarious after the Peace of 1815, and had to collapse after the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1845. The transition from tillage to stock involved the displacement of the redundant rural population. Upon this calamity followed the second, viz., the fall of agricultural prices, attributable in part to foreign competition after the railways of the United States had been built, and in part to the general appreciation in the value of gold during the thirty years after 1873. This second calamity necessitated the prolonged agony of the "Land War in Ireland," to obtain a reduction of rents, and finally the expropriation of the Irish Landlords by an onerous operation of land purchase. In all this disturbed period of social readjustment the rural parts of Ireland were handicapped and economic development was impossible.

The result has been that Irish farming has fallen into a dilapidated condition, and the usage of the soil of Ireland has become deplorably uneconomic. To indicate the facts we may display in a statistical form the manner of using the surface of the country as followed by other European nations, viz. :—

	<i>Danes.</i>	<i>Dutch.</i>	<i>Swiss.</i>	<i>French.</i>	<i>Irish.</i>
Arable Land, .	42.5	27.7	16.5	52.4	11.1
Hay, Pasture, .	28.2	34.7	35.9	11.3	64.1
Forest, .	4.6	6.9	18.4	18.3	1.5
Vineyards, .	0.0	0.0	0.8	3.7	0.0
Unproductive, .	24.7	30.7	28.4	14.3	23.3
<hr/>					
Total area, .	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

We are here viewing agriculture as the means of living for two-thirds of the population of Ireland—admittedly one of the most fertile soils in Europe. We are comparing Ireland with countries having about the same proportion of “unproductive” surface. Such a fact as that 64.1 per cent. of the land surface should be given up to grass is unparalleled in the world; and the pitiful 11.1 per cent. devoted to ploughed land offers no adequate basis for the employment of the agricultural population. In its Ship-building, its Linen Cloth, its Brewing and Distilling, its Tobacco Manufactures, its Woollen Tweeds and Hosiery Goods, its Rope making, and delicate Lace Fabrics, Ireland has industries that may stand, quality for quality, alongside the best producers of similar goods anywhere in Europe. But in the arts of using a most fertile soil in the business of agriculture, it is but a ruined land, wasted and withered by the fifty-years-long struggle to settle the question of land tenure. Hence and so grievous is the contrast now visible in the Town and Country Life of Ireland!

*Proceedings of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society
of Ireland.*

SIXTY-SEVENTH SESSION—FIRST MEETING.

[14th November, 1913.]

The Society met at No. 93 Stephen's Green at 8.15 p.m.
The President in the Chair.

The President delivered his inaugural address on "The Industrial Awakening of Ireland."

A vote of thanks to the President for his address was proposed by Rev. T. A. Finlay, and seconded by Mr. Commissioner Lynch.

The following were elected members of the Society:—
Messrs. Chas. H. Chaytor, Chas. Gamble, William S. Hayes, Michael F. Keogh, and James Murphy.

SECOND MEETING.

[12th December, 1913.]

The Society met at No. 93 Stephen's Green at 8.15 p.m.
The President in the Chair.

A paper by Mr. William F. Webb, LL.B., on "Commercial Education in Ireland" was read by Mr. Jonathan Pim, K.C. (Solicitor-General).

A discussion followed, in which Messrs. Geo. Fletcher, Williamson, Ryan, and the President took part. Mr. Webb replied.

Major G. B. O'Connor was elected a member of the Society.

THIRD MEETING.

[23rd January, 1914.]

The Society met at No. 93 Stephen's Green at 8.15 p.m. Revd. T. A. Finlay in the Chair.

A paper was read by Mr. S. Shannon Millin on "Slums, a Sociological Retrospect of the City of Dublin."

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Lawson (who communicated a letter from the President), Messrs Samuels, Bowen, Wigham, and Chart took part.

FOURTH MEETING.

[6th March, 1914.]

The Society met at the Civil Engineers' Hall, 35 Dawson Street, at 8.15 p.m. The President in the Chair.

The Society was honoured by the presence of their Excellencies the Lord Lieutenant and the Countess of Aberdeen.

A paper was read by Mr. D. A. Chart, M.A., on "Unskilled Labour in Dublin—Its Housing and Living Conditions."

A discussion followed, in which the Rev. T. A. Finlay, Dr. J. R. O'Connell, Mr. John Nolan (Boston, U.S.A.), Professor W. H. Thompson, Mr. Chas. Eason, and the President took part.

A vote of thanks to their Excellencies for attending at the meeting was proposed by Mr. Commissioner Lynch, seconded by Mr. Daniel S. Doyle, and carried unanimously.

FIFTH MEETING.

[27th March, 1914.]

The Society met at 93 Stephen's Green, at 8.15 p.m. The President in the Chair.

Mr. Lawson, Hon. Sec., read the Report of the Committee (appointed by the Council) on "Housing in Dublin—Control and Improvement of Tenement Houses."

A discussion followed, in which the President, Mr. Chas. Eason, Sir Charles Cameron, the Registrar General, Messrs. Bowen, John C. Whiteside, and Lawson took part.

SIXTH MEETING.

[5th May, 1914.]

The Society met at No. 93 Stephen's Green, at 8.15 p.m. The President in the Chair.

Mr. Lawson read a paper entitled, "The Amendment of the Law in Ireland as to Maintenance of Illegitimate Children."

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Ashe, Messrs. Bowen, David Fagan, Sir William Thompson, and Mrs. A. S. Richardson took part.

Mr. W. S. Wilkinson, Northern Bank, Irvinestown, was elected a member of the Society.

SEVENTH MEETING.

[12th June, 1914.]

The Society met at No. 93 Stephen's Green, at 8.15 p.m.
The President in the Chair.

Professor C. H. Oldham read a paper (illustrated by slides) on "The Incidence of Emigration on Town and Country Life in Ireland."

A discussion followed, in which the President, Messrs. Doyle, Shanahan, Bowen, and Lawson took part.

Mr. Chas. A. Stanuell was re-elected President for the ensuing Session, and the Vice-Presidents and Honorary Officers were also re-elected.

The following were elected members of the Council:—
R. A. Anderson, Henry C. Bowen, D. A. Chart, J. T. Drennan, Rev. R. M. Gwynn, E. J. McWeeney, G. E. Shanahan, S. Shannon Millin, Sir John R. O'Connell, Louis S. Smith, W. F. Webb, and Major A. Whewell.

Dr. W. R. Dawson was elected a member of the Society.

SEALY, BRYERS AND WALKER, PRINTERS, DUBLIN.

OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY.

THE objects of the Society are the promotion of the study of Statistics, Jurisprudence, and Social and Economic Science. The Meetings are held in each month, from November to June, inclusive, and the business of the Society transacted thereat consists of the reading of papers on the above subjects and of the discussion of the same. The papers are afterwards published in such form as the Council may approve.

No communication is read unless the Secretaries, or two of them, certify that they consider it in accordance with the rules and objects of the Society. The Society does not accept any responsibility for any opinion, representation of fact, or train of reasoning, in a paper. The author is alone responsible. The reading of each paper, unless by express permission of the Council previously obtained, is limited to *half an hour*.

All communications should be addressed to the *Honorary Secretaries*.



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